OUT OF AFRICA

EMORY ROSS

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OUT OF AFRICA

BY EMORY ROSS

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THE REVEREND EMORY ROSS has had a life-long connection with missions among the African peoples. His parents were teachers in the Southern Christian Institute at Edwards, Mississippi, a school for Negroes maintained by the Disciples of Christ, and it was here that his boyhood was spent. He was graduated from Eureka College in 1908 and then returned to the Southern Christian Institute, which he served as secretary-treasurer for two years. From 1910-12 Mr. Ross taught at Eureka College. He has taken special graduate studies at various periods in the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin and the College of Missions, Indianapolis.

Between the years 1912 and 1916 Mr. Ross resided in Liberia as a missionary of the Disciples of Christ. In 1913 he was a member of a party that explored the hinterlands of Liberia and Sierra Leone. When his missionary board decided to withdraw from Liberia and to open a mission in Central Africa, Mr. Ross traveled with a group that made a survey of Belgian and French Ubangi with a view to selecting the field of work. In 1918 he became treasurer of the Disciples of Christ Congo Mission, and the following year was made secretary-treasurer of the Union Mission House, Leopoldville, conducted as a joint enterprise by a number of missions to serve travelers passing up and down the Congo. He was joint secretary of the Congo Continuation Committee, which was reconstituted in 1925 as the Conseil Protestant du Congo. In 1928 he became its first full-time secretary, and in this capacity he traveled widely through Central and West Africa.

Mr. Ross returned to America in 1933 and is now secretary of the American Committee on Work in the Congo, representing the missionary bodies established in that region, and also of the African Welfare Committee of the Federal Council of Churches.

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS ROSS

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OUT OF AFRICA

Out of Africa——

"Out of Africa," the old Greek proverb ran, "ever something new."

Proofs of this proverb-pudding Africa has furnished for three thousand known years. Not without reason is Africa the continent of mystery and wonder to this generation. Things new, things strange, things totally unexpected have been coming out of Africa for thirty passing centuries.

The Queen of Sheba, the gold of Ophir—and of the Rand; whispers of the Mountains of the Moon; the purling waters of the Nile; diamonds sufficient to cause large vaults to bulge; and "Congorilla"; the greatest copper finds in the world; leopard societies, and the unbelievable, then proven, okapi; twelve million American citizens of African descent; Agadir, and the world cataclysm three years thereafter; Edgar Wallace, "Tarzan," and—Livingstone!

Out of Africa— In every age, ever something new. Sometimes worthless, more often priceless. What is it to be in ours?

I: Africa Appropriated and Convulsed

AFRICA *was* THE DARK CONTINENT.

Africa today positively glistens.

It glistens with diamonds, nearly the world's whole supply of them. It glistens with most of the earth's gold, with mountains of copper, with much of the globe's radium. On a near tomorrow it will glisten with electricity; it has nearly a fourth of the world's water power.

But most of all does it glisten with the faces, the uplifted eyes, the souls of a hundred and forty million of the earth's emergent peoples. From the forests, the rivers, the swamps, the elephant grass, the coastal plains and the interior uplands they rise. They catch the glow of a new dawn.

The dawn of what? The answer is not yet sure. But whatever it is to be, *you* are bound to help frame it. Canada and the United States may seem a goodly distance off from Africa. Actually, in many ways they are as closely linked with Africa, and as interdependent, as they are with one another. Fantastic? Not at all.

Consider this: North America has more than twelve

million citizens who are direct descendants of Africans. The presence of this group has profoundly affected United States politics, society, economics, music, art, religion. And it has more than merely touched Canada. We have in this group the closest and mightiest human link with Africa of any continent on earth.

Our vaunted modern industry is dependent on Africa. Our two million tons of tin plate every year are boiled in African palm oil. Our mass-production technique depends on African cobalt, that indispensable ingredient for the making of high-speed tool steel. And it is only the Congo which blocks Canada from developing a monopoly of this metal for the whole world!

The earth's largest known resources of copper lie in Africa; they control the world market and thus condition every phase of American industry touched by copper. The world's well known and late departed gold standard was dependent upon Africa, which furnished most of the gold, and still continues to do so more profitably than ever. Africa bores the very bowels of the earth with drills pointed with its diamonds; and African diamonds are among the largest ever found and cut.

Modern art drew much of its inspiration—if it is inspired—from African angles and masses and motifs. And modern music . . . well, not so long ago I was having my first and only New York night club (very respectable!) dinner. The blue and silver of lamps and drapes induced memories of glittering tropical moon-

lights. The moaning of the saxophones and the throbbing of the drums overweighted the exotically scented air. Impulsively my charming Belgian hostess leaned forward and to her husband and myself—all three of us "Africans"—observed, *"Comment tout cela ressemble à l'Afrique!"* How all that did resemble Africa, too!

Africa treats our malignant conditions with its radium, cleanses our hands with its soaps, tops the keys of our pianos with its ivory. It washed a derelict Trader Horn up on the shores of our generation and washed him off again; and it preserves imperishably on the shores of Lake Bangweolo the glorious heart of a Livingstone, buried, as he died, in old Chitambo's village. It is the world's antipodes of mystery, myth and stalking death, and wealth, power and potentialities. The last great continent to "come in," and the world's second largest, it may yet prove the richest.

It is undergoing rudest change. A century ago it was all but unknown. Fifty years ago it was the territorial grab-bag of Europe. Thirty years ago it became the political maneuvers ground. Cabinets, navies and armies were constantly in it, on it or about it. Out of it they converged head-on upon that World War which engulfed civilization. Against all volitions of its own, Africa became a major cause of the World War, a recruiting base for "volunteer" armies, a battleground, a vast supplier of the sinews of war, and a mandate-coated spoils for the victors. It remains the greatest exploitable

area of the world, and therefore the possible occasion for further wars.

To be in our time an exploitable area means to be exploited, and Africa is exploited. But "to exploit" does not always mean totally bad things. The more gracious Websterian meaning, "to utilize, to make available, to get the usefulness or value out of," has its applications here and there in Africa.

But even that more clement meaning implies change to the African, quick, deep change. And the harsher forms of exploitation, which have existed widely and today persist all too extensively, mean cataclysm and produce shock in the human life of Africa.

Take the Congo. Consider the case of its ten million people, living in an area greater than the original thirteen American colonies. It is typical. It is a representative picture of Negro Africa with only a little sharper focus, a little quicker timing and a little higher resulting contrast than the rest of the continent.

Generations before our own scarcely knew the Congo. It was the last great sweep of populated country to move from the obscurity of the unknown on to the widening stage of the world's knowledge; to be discovered, uncovered, opened.

We say Stanley "opened" the Congo. What Stanley did was to force the first slim, bright needle of modern exploration into that mysterious heart of a traditionally mysterious continent. And to make even that tiny prick into the mysterious required the best years of that in-

domitably courageous life which began unfathered in a cruel, Victorian Welsh workhouse under the name of John Rowlands.

Sometime back I sat in my office in a building which Stanley had seen erected in the now capital city of the Congo, which he had founded and called Leopoldville. With me there was an elderly Native man who had spent his childhood in close touch with that great explorer. I said to him, "My friend, what sort of man was Stanley?"

His eyes met mine, he tiptoed to the door, he searched out of the window, then he neared me again and in tones whose whispered lowness seemed pitched to foil the ears of Stanley's lingering spirit, he said, "Mr. Stanley, he was a har-rd man!"

Stanley was a hard man—not that I mean cruel. Hard. He probably had to be to do what he did. At least, no man less hard had ever done it—"opened" the Congo. In all recorded history no outlander had ever penetrated that vast and darkened region and returned alive to tell the tale. David Livingstone had died upon his knees beside his cot on the lake shore of Bangweolo, grieving at his failure to do so. Diogo Cam, Tuckey, Grandy, Cameron, Speke, a dozen others we know, had successively failed. Mountains, swamps, forests, disease, wild animals, and sometimes wilder peoples had barred all trails, permitted nothing but retreat or a hopeless grave. The Congo remained the last goal of those baffled geographers of Dean Swift's who

> . . . in Afric maps,
> With savage pictures fill their gaps,
> And o'er unhabitable downs
> Place elephants for want of towns.

Then Stanley plunged into Africa from Zanzibar, in the east, and nine hundred and ninety-nine days later emerged to a world that had given him up for dead, at the mouth of the Congo River, on the west coast, at a port called Banana—where there were and are no bananas! One of the world's greatest journeys was accomplished. But every white man who had started it, save Stanley, was dead. And the bones of more than half the brave Zanzibaris were bleaching in a thin white trail across the Dark Continent. The slim, bright needle had with herculean effort been pushed in and through and out of Africa, and the Congo was "open." The year was 1877.

In the fifty-nine succeeding years, then, everything that we know with accuracy about the Congo has transpired. And one of the things we know is this: never before in the history of the world has so primitive a people in so large an area had the full weight of so advanced a civilization put upon them in so short a time.

The whole impact has come within a single lifetime. And in the Congo we have the amazing, the unique spectacle of the very sons and grandsons of the men who repeatedly ambushed Stanley and more than once carried off the dripping flesh of his followers to their

waiting villages, shouting *"Nyama! nyama!"* ("Meat! meat!")—the sons and grandsons of these aged cannibals, some of whom still live, aiding in one of the swiftest and most lucrative of economic penetrations the world has ever seen.

We have Congolese today running the steamboats and driving all the trains; selling the railway tickets and operating the adding machines which total up the sales; we have them manning all the telephone exchanges, and tapping Morse keys on all the telegraph lines of the colony; we have them tending the latest high-speed, multiple-control cotton looms of the only spinning mills in Central Africa.

The first wheelbarrows brought to the Congo and placed in Native hands were lightly filled with earth and then hoisted to the heads of their waiting handlers to be carried off and dumped. Why not? They had never seen a wheel, knew nothing of its function.

Yet the sons of those men are assembling Fords and Chevrolets, Buicks and Fiats and Citroëns, and are driving on their own and with entire satisfaction convoys of ten-ton Italian Lancia trucks whose assembled cost in the Congo is over seven thousand dollars apiece.

First-generation descendants of witch doctors and medicine men sit with trained and knowing eyes at the latest high-powered microscopes in scores of hospitals and laboratories, picking trypanosomes out of blood smears and determining which of a score of long-named intestinal parasites is troubling the patient.

Bucyrus steam shovels and huge Diesel motors respond to their control. One of the most interesting "shots" of the five thousand feet of cinema film I was able to get during my last quick trip to the Congo was of two Native boys, graduates of a Swedish Protestant industrial school. They were actually building a modern ten-passenger Fokker monoplane out of thousands of pieces of wood and wire and fabric sent out, knocked down, from Europe for the African air service of the Belgian flying company, the Sabena.

Thousands of these first-generation Congolese are teaching in Christian schools, and hundreds are preaching the Good News and leading as pastors and evangelists in establishing the church of Christ in the Congo.

This is the changing Africa of our day.

Foreign governments, industry and religion must bear shares of the responsibility for the change which is taking place. Sometimes one, sometimes another was the first to touch a given spot in Africa, but the others were never far behind and it is the impact of the three which is accomplishing the change. Their importations into African life have been overwhelming.

Coinage is one of these. Mr. C. F. Strickland, an experienced British colonial administrator, says that the general employment of a coined currency is the most confusing of all the changes which European influence has thrust upon the African.[1] Before it came wealth was

[1] C. F. Strickland, "The Cooperative Movement in Africa," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June, 1934.

represented by stored crops, which could be eaten; wives and livestock, which could produce; copper and iron objects, which could be reworked into weapons or tools. European coins, when they came—small disks of unworkable metal—bore little relation to the reality of wealth in the African's mind. He is by no means yet familiar, really, with coinage. And he finds a world "depression" and foreign "exchange," both somehow connected with coinage, to be other uncomprehended foreign phenomena. How can people starve when sun and rain and soil are still compounding food, or how can they lack shelter when all about them are trees and stones waiting to be made into houses? To the African it is all very queer.

Governments have strange ways, too. They say a witch doctor must die for merely doing his duty in executing a witch whom all the tests have proved guilty, but that a murderer may possibly go free just because no one happened to see him commit the crime. It is all quite confusing!

The foreign languages add difficulties, also. In Cameroun, two hundred thousand square miles tucked into the deep hollow of the Gulf of Guinea on Africa's west coast, three million primitive people have had to learn, or suffer, successively in the past sixty years three totally different foreign languages from the lips of their foreign rulers. And more than once the Natives (who have fifty languages of their own to overcome!) have been penalized for speaking haltingly in public a

few laboriously acquired words of the language of a former European administration.

Every such incident as this latter, petty though it be, lends more force to the shock of social readjustment. Most Africans know little of outside national rivalries and jealousies, or why one nation's strange foreign tongue should bring them difficulties when used to address a person, also white and also foreign, of another nation. A queer lot, these white people, thinks the African. And when he is alone with just his own—in villages around the evening's cooking fires, in canoes on the silent rivers, on trek across the veldt—he goes repeatedly over their queernesses. Thousands of hours are spent daily in Africa by Africans discussing the never-ending strange doings and sayings of the washed-out, colorless beings who through their superior wisdom and "medicine" have been able to seize the country. Ah, they sigh, if only *we* could get that medicine!

The African's hope of getting this has been one of the factors in his generally quick reception of foreign persons, goods, customs and other innovations. It was widely held at first that the white man's "book"—his ability to read, write, figure, print, and to commit his ideas and wishes to paper for transmission and execution at a distance—was the essence of this wonderful secret. Hence there was a great desire for "book."

A sudden demand in 1879 from the village youth at the new British Baptist mission at San Salvador, Angola, for school instruction in the evening after work hours

surprised the missionaries, who, however, complied with the request, tired as they were after the hot long day spent in clearing a site and building a station. They hoped a real desire for learning had come even thus quickly into the hearts of these apparently otherwise indifferent people.

W. Holman Bentley, writing of this incident in one of his early books on the Congo, said it was a long time before they found out the reason for this keen desire to learn to read and write. The Natives had been carrying their produce to the coast for exchange at the buying stores of the factory (as trading establishments in Africa were then called), and there received a slip of paper on which the European buying agent had made in their presence a few strange marks. This "book" they were told to take to the barter store, where another agent gave them goods of their selection. What a powerful fetish that was!

Their wish to learn "book" was at first a desire to discover for themselves how to make those strange fetish marks on paper and, thus armed, to present themselves direct to the barter store to receive goods without the tiresome necessity of carrying produce to the buying agent. No dishonesty was apparent to them in this. Were not all the white man's goods made by magic under the sea, out of which they came for landing upon the coast? Could he not by simple magic make more endlessly? And why should not Africans acquire if they could the magic for getting those goods so magically produced?

That was only fifty years ago. A transformation has taken place since. Africans are now taking active and important part in the production, distribution or sale of nearly all goods offered on the continent. The ascription of magical powers to "book" has, of course, now generally ceased, but the willingness to import and absorb is still there. A heavy moral responsibility is thereby laid upon the government, business or church which undertakes to provide the material for importation and absorption into African life. The future of a race, of a continent, largely depends on the discharge of that responsibility.

Up to the present time no coherent picture has appeared of what Africa is to be. More tragically lacking than on most continents is a responsible body to define for even ten future years a plan or an objective for Africa as a whole.

Africa, as a matter of fact, does not exist save as a geographical incident or a romantic backdrop.

What exists is French Africa in nine sections; British Africa in nineteen lots; Belgian Africa in two pieces; Italian Africa, Portuguese Africa and Spanish Africa in three divisions each; with Egypt, Liberia and Ethiopia left over to maintain traditions of autonomy—if indeed the events of May, 1936, have not already reduced the three to two. Africa in nine acts and forty-two scenes—simultaneously!

Nor is there unity of practice and purpose within French Africa or within British Africa, for example.

Britain in Kenya and Britain on the Gold Coast are really in many respects two Britains and two Africas. French Morocco and French Gabun are given little in common but the tricolor. Even where a nation has only one unit in Africa variety appears, as in the Congo, an area which in a single generation has known the régime of the Congo Free State and the progress following its annexation as Belgian Congo.

There was virtually no unity in Africa before its spectacular and greedy partition among the great powers in the eighties of the last century. There is even less now, for European nationalisms have been trundled in and mixed with all of Africa's other divisive factors of race and tongue, religion and fear. This is a deliberate strategy of many governments: divide and rule. Old but still effective where possible. How long in Africa will it yet be possible?

The world crisis which developed about the fate of Ethiopia affords a dramatic close-up of Africa's rôle in the world's politics and economics.

The "Ethiopian situation," which was of course essentially not an Ethiopian situation at all but an Italian and later a world situation, represented something not new but quite established in international relations: the strategically important place of Africa in so many of the world's economic, territorial, colonial and political considerations.

Its newness was of the order of publicity. To many it brought for the first time knowledge of these facts

concerning Africa. What the chancelleries and colonial offices of the world had known for sixty years was blazed in part even to readers of American tabloids. These words were first pondered in a New York subway train uncomfortably packed with humanity—as is the subway's fashion! From where I was in the forest of people I could count sixteen persons poring over news from Ethiopia and news about Ethiopia from Geneva, London, Paris, Rome, Tokyo, and Washington. Even though the place names were unpronounceable and the reasons not all clear, some knowledge will stick that Africa is of surprising interest to the world for reasons other than big game hunting, motion picture thrillers and exotic jungle life.

Africa is a principal territorial factor in the ominous international situation today. The economic rivalries of the last century centered around it. The World War was fought partly because of it. Seventeen years after that war closed another on that gigantic scale was narrowly averted—with Africa as its chief cause. And for the future, unless international morality makes giant strides, another human shambles is in prospect: a resentful, rearmed Germany is not forgetting her former prideful place beneath the luxuriant African sun.

Thus Africa stands. Rich, alluring, exploitable, she excites the greed of a selfish, acquisitive world. Nations with small African colonies strive to enlarge them. And those with sizable ones labor feverishly to "develop" them while still they are in possession. As a result,

Africa is in spiritual and social turmoil, and the world is torn concerning her.

In the confusion of African interests the Christian church is almost the only agency which might think objectively and impartially of Africa as a whole and of all phases of African life, in an effort to help Africans to a unity which is not yet in prospect and which is even feared by certain interests. The church has not yet done this thinking comprehensively, but in certain matters of life it has nevertheless been of great aid to an African society in search of new bases.

Take one instance as an example. Belief in evil spirits must be replaced by scientific knowledge of the causes of disease. Hundreds of mission hospitals, dispensaries and training centers were among the first to attack that problem. Governments, philanthropic funds and some industries have joined in. And now, particularly in West Africa, there are numbers of African doctors (including a pioneer woman M.D., Dr. Sawyer, of the Gold Coast), and throughout the continent there are thousands of nurses and trained medical assistants of great immediate and even greater future significance to the health of Africa.

Wanjola is one of these. Being the eldest son, he would have, in the usual African course of things, succeeded the head of his family as the powerful and feared witch doctor in a broad region of the lower Ubangi valley. He went as a boy to a mission school, where he helped sweep the paths and mow the lawns

to earn some of his "keep." Later, he became a manual helper in the Disciples' mission hospital at Bolenge. He had aptitudes that soon put him among those who were receiving patients, giving them preliminary examinations and standing by as the doctor checked, explained and prescribed. Soon Wanjola was prescribing for the simpler ailments himself, and aiding with the treatments. Before long, he was making lumbar punctures in sleeping sickness cases, and giving intravenous and intra-muscular injections of remedies against that dread disease and against yaws and other maladies. Using the microscope, he demonstrated the causes of various ailments. Then he rid the patient of the causative germ. But in it all he also was ridding himself of the hold witchcraft had had upon his mind, so that when the day came for him to head a little public health expedition to his own home district, he went not only with microscope, sterilizer, ampoules and hypodermic needles, but with a degree of emancipation and a background of assured medical knowledge that made a profound impression upon his Ubangi fellows. A hereditary witch doctor now dispensing foreign medicine with both personal testimony and therapeutic success is a powerful factor in the new life of Africa. Medical men and women have applied their knowledge at one of the points of sharpest change in the experience of a race which is in almost complete transformation.

In past history a people's life has been a thing slow to change. The movement, whether forward or back-

ward, has been all but imperceptible to a living eye. It has required the successive lifetimes of several observers to measure the change, even sometimes to tell its direction.

No such orderly advance has been allowed Africa. In this respect Africa came at a bad moment upon the world scene, just when machines were beginning to make insatiable demands for raw materials, which Africa has, and when swarming populations in northern lands were beginning to search for new territories, which Africa had. Those two conditions combined with the helplessness of incohesive Africa to seal her fate. The normal developments of a thousand years were for her largely to be crammed into fifty. The Western world found Africa desirable, pronounced her necessary, and proceeded to take her in a way no continent had ever been taken and to force her people's culture in a way no great human mass had ever before been dealt with.

The result is unique, and at present altogether confused. It is not wholly bad; it undoubtedly is not wholly good. But whatever it is, now and for the immediate future it is inescapable. It is in our laps.

The Last Continent and the millions of its people, among the most primitive remaining, are having nearly all natural roots trimmed and most of the familiar soil removed. Hastily grafted roots are being transplanted, or, more accurately, replanted on the spot, in the foreign-earthed forcing beds of a civilization hundreds

of years riper and hundreds of times faster than the African, and altogether different.

From dugout log canoes Africans step to the deck of thousand-ton steamboats; from fifteen miles a day along twisting paths to low-wing monoplanes. They drop a short-handled hoe for the wheel of a long-coupled tractor to plow their erstwhile land. Never having seen a written word or a printed page, they have *Punch* and the Bible and *L'Illustration* offered for their purchase. They find themselves jumped from fetishes and knucklebones and witch doctors to microscopes and centrifuges and African M.D.'s.

There are almost no intermediates in all this. There is no ascending ladder from the two-inch soft-iron axe head insecurely stuck into the terminal knot of a short club, to the motor-driven band saw, the 2,000 r.p.m. planer and the drum sander. The same workman who in boyhood learned the use of the axe as the only tool anywhere then available to him for making rough necessities from wood, now in young manhood skilfully moves among the whirring belts and meshing gears of the machines and turns out satin-finished bedroom suites and ebony chess tables inlaid with ivory. Or anything else which you'd care to describe or blueprint.

But more staggering still is what is happening in the life of the people. Guy ropes have been cut, and even the flimsy shelters thrown up by primitive life as a protection and a defense against disintegration of the group are threatened, and some of them already have

been brought down in the mighty gusts of foreign penetration. Harbor moorings have parted and the little barks of African life are far out on, to them, chartless seas in the "trade" winds of the West. African life is adrift. Old tribal sanctions and restraints have broken down completely in the lives of many and partially in the lives of nearly all. There is less and less that is firm and solid in the old life to which this generation may tie.

The French and Belgians call these peoples *déracinés*, the uprooted, the unrooted, the rootless. Taken literally, that is too strong a term. There are still roots, of course. But as a figure it is apt, true.

Almost every element of African life is being isolated and tested. Keen young Africans are in the vanguard of those whose slogans are Whence? and How? and Whither?

A hundred and forty million people are on trek, emerging from the unknown, moving into the unexplored.

In an unusual sense a whole people seeks a Way, a Guide and a Life, now and everlasting.

II: African Society and Land

AFRICAN TRIBAL LIFE IS ORGANIZED ON A BASIS OF socialism.[1] Almost every aspect of existence is communally controlled. The individual counts for little; the family, clan or tribe for everything.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE TRIBE

This social order has powerfully aided in preserving group life through the generations. It is at once a blessing and a bane: blessing because it has preserved the clan; bane because it has overridden the individual.

Take, for example, the administration of justice as a basic social process and see what happens under this order of life. The Anglo-Saxon mind finds an entirely strange set of ideas at work. A death occurs. This means foul play, witchcraft. To the African there is no such thing as a "natural" death. The whole community may be suspect. A score of persons may be given physiological tests to discover the guilty controller of the evil spirit responsible for the death. Taking a poisoned drink

[1] "Socialism" is here used to denote collective possession, ownership and use of all means of life.

or picking pebbles out of boiling oil may be the test. Those passing it unscathed are adjudged innocent; those not, guilty.

This is in no sense rendering justice from our point of view. The chances are as good for the innocent to be condemned as for the guilty to escape. And in most instances there are no guilty, for death was due to natural or accidental causes. But through the poison cup or the boiling oil and all the social concepts linked with them, tribal solidarity is maintained by that overwhelming emotion, fear. The life of the individual, and consequently that of the tribe, is by this means given some measure of protection. The death of an individual comes to be shudderingly dreaded by the whole community, not because an individual is of worth but because of the frightening tests and resultant punishments meted out to survivors. In a sense the individual in an African tribe reaches his highest importance at the moment of death. How tragic that never in life has he been of such consequence!

Or take marriage. Here again African socialism maintains a rigid control, largely at the expense of the woman. Only through her as the fruitful bearer of children can blood relationship to the tribe be certainly determined. Collectively, therefore, she is of enormous importance in the life continuity of the group. She conserves as well as conceives that life. That is her duty, conception and conservation, not of individual life for its own sake, but of individual life for the sake of the

tribe. It is not important, therefore, that her own inclinations should guide in marriage. The advantage of the tribe is the thing sought. She is not a free agent in marriage, and love is not a necessary element in it. She is bestowed by her family-in-council. It is not often she can make her own choice, although that does sometimes happen when her choice and the clan good are believed to coincide. But she has this negative possibility: if she sufficiently dislikes and resists a union she may be able to evade it, not so much possibly because the elders have any tenderness for her feelings as because the tribe is unlikely to get normal increase from such a marriage.

And so one might go through the whole round of tribal affairs. At every point the individual is suppressed, the tribe advanced. This tends to hobble initiative. No individual being important, no individual's thought, act or fate is important unless the tribal walls be threatened. When that happens, the individual is simply erased.

And then comes Christianity, Western Christianity at that! What a difference of emphasis! What a revolution! For Christianity has given high exaltation to the individual. It was he for whom Christ died. It is he to whom salvation is offered. He it is who has the choice and power of decision. Western culture, influenced by Christianity and influencing it, has borne the individual far along the road to enthronement. Individualism strongly pervades our contemporary Western culture. If it knows socialism at all it is as from a great distance, as a thing recognized from afar.

With enthusiasm Western civilization made at Africa. How benighted and unfavored the African was! Unlettered, unclad, black (that alone was the theme of a thousand pities), untraveled, superstitious, unarmed and incohesive, he was the object at once of commiseration, commerce, cupidity, civilization and Christianity.

Christianity had the highest of motives, but only meagre knowledge of the African. The other invasive elements had motives scaled lower and almost no knowledge. The result was that the very first impact from the outside was disruptive. Nothing was conceived as good in African life. Everything was marked for destruction.

To the African, all this was overwhelming. Here were these amazing white beings appearing mysteriously out of the limitless salt water of the sea—and it was believed by some that they had been formed beneath the sea and then bleached by its salinity. They seemed obviously superior beings in some ways. They apparently had no need for fetishes such as the Africans knew, yet they could conjure fire instantly from the darkened end of a little stick.

In later years some whites were to remark that trains and multiple-story buildings and automobiles and even airplanes did not seem to excite in the minds of Africans any enormous wonder at white cleverness. And to them one was to reply that, after all, from the primitive African viewpoint when creatures came along who could create fire by so simple an act as striking a match, they were obviously and automatically to be placed in such

a superior category of powers that their later production of an airplane was not a thing at which to marvel at all. A being who could make a match could quite logically be expected to do anything.

The fact was that African life was essentially a socialism, whereas that of the first whites to encounter them was of a wholly different nature. Representing an economic order so largely individualistic and schooled to believe in its immense superiority; with gauges of "success" calibrated in units of personal achievement, and glorying in those gauges as instruments of unquestionable social precision, the individualistic foreigner was confirmed in his individualism when he met the African and proceeded to lay all the latter's backwardness and low economic state to his lack of individual aggressiveness and to the communalism of African life.

There was just enough truth behind this instinctive verdict to permit its formulation, but that bit of truth was not the whole truth, nor did it lead necessarily to such a verdict. African socialism had been a powerful protector of the tribe. Without it the tribe might not have survived the rude, continuous blows of disease, unfavorable environment, fear, drought, wild animals and human enemies. It had notable social values in the past and offered great hopes for the African's future, as we shall see in considering in detail the Christian church in Africa. If it subordinated the individual in many ways and tended to stifle personal leadership and blunt initiative, nevertheless it contributed much to his

preservation as a tiny unit and thus kept him alive individually and collectively to that day when the mighty impact of a wholly unknown world came to be made upon him. Whether in the future he will thank his forbears' socialism for its part in keeping him alive to that fateful day of impact is a question that the church, particularly, must help him to answer affirmatively.

But good was not all that came out of the African's primitive socialism. By it the individual was relegated definitely to a position of minor importance. His rôle was rather negative: to live regularly and inconspicuously, breaking the fewest possible rules of the tribe, so that bad luck should not come to the group because of him, or to him because of the anger of the group. Nothing encouraged him to try innovations. All the weight of authority was on the other side. He must stick to the tried and proved, live by precedent and, above all, keep from getting his head out beyond his fellows by non-conformity, where it would become the fated target not only of the darts of the tribe but of the dreaded heavier weapons of all the spirit world.

The African system contrived a kind of protection for the individual but made of the individual it protected much less than he could and should be. One of the glories of the living Christ in Africa is that he can change that situation; that he can transform and raise and save the individual African, and that at the same time he can bring new values and beliefs into African

society, which, instead of being shattered and discarded, shall rise to unimagined heights of vital service to Africa and the world.

WHAT LAND MEANS TO THE AFRICAN

As we consider the African and his land, preparatory to studying later how the church in Africa may be affected by this intimate and basic earth relationship, we immediately sight divergences between his attitude and ours that are as great as those between the individualism of the Anglo-Saxon and the all-embracing socialism of the African.

To an African, land means both more and less than it does to an American.

It means less as "real estate." There are no suburban developments, realtors or land speculators in African life. One may rather envy Africa! It means less as a basic personal possession, to be exhausted by over-exploitation or detrimentally neglected, at an owner's whim. Individuals do not own land in African life. The community does. It means less commercially to an African than to an American or a European, partly for the foregoing reasons and partly because food comes more easily in tropical Africa and population is less dense; therefore it is not necessary to put so definite a value upon every square yard of productive soil.

But in what, then, can land mean more to an African than to us? Would our allegedly Christian America be surprised to know that it is in a *spiritual* sense that the

land means more to animistic Africa? Yet that is quite true.

Communally owned, land is communally enshrined. Land is the home of the race. Land gave spirit to the tribe. And from out the land creep the delicate but tenacious tendrils of the soul of the individual African. He worships, fears, placates the land, sacrifices to it. Land is the great mother heart of the world, giving all life and usually the means to sustain it. But upon occasion that heart is hardened and then famine, pestilence and disaster stalk in the small world of the African tribe.

It is largely because of these occasional heart hardenings of Mother Earth that the African fears the land as well as reveres it. For him the land is peopled with countless spirits, mostly evil. The latter are all seeking to do him harm. He makes desperate alliances with other spirits to counteract the evil he fears. There thus results an unending battle in the life of an African. He must recruit endlessly and at great price one set of spirits to counter the malevolent attacks of another. This philosophy and practice extends to all parts of life. It tends to explain "dark" Africa. It is one of the basic reasons for the relatively low social and economic state of the African, as we shall later see. And it is here that one of the great gifts of Christianity can be made. Where fear of soil exists, either soil or fear should vacate; since it is impossible to eliminate soil, it is fear which must go. It is also utterly desirable that

it should. Mr. John H. Reisner, secretary of the Agricultural Missions Foundation, points out how this can be encompassed by continued reasoned teaching that soil is good, kindly, friendly, holy, God's own; and that by man's appreciation and cooperation all these qualities can be brought out from it for human society.

The African line between fearing and revering is not so sharp and clear as a ten-yard line on a football field. There you are either over it or you are not. In his game of life the African is not so sure. He reveres the land deeply but he fears it mightily. His task is to live. To live he must have food, water, some shelter, a measure of health. The land can provide these things, and usually does. But sometimes it sharply refuses. He reveres it for its provisions, fears it for its refusals, and takes all the measures his ancestral lore teaches him for turning dread refusal into desired response.

Let us consider some of the typical things an African does in the hope that Mother Earth will give him blessing and not cursing. If you wish to do so, as a half-hour's parlor diversion, you may decide which of the following acts are motivated by fear and which by veneration. But there are no "right" answers in the back of this book!

1. The earth is not only "mother," it is "chief." Out of this conception grow many laws. For example, when an elephant is killed the tusk on the side next to the ground, touching the earth, is the earth's, hence the chief's.

2. When a person moves from one country to another, a little soil of the new country should be mixed with one's food for several days, to aid in the transition of person and spirit from the old land to the new.

3. Some believe that the tribal dead form a village under the earth, with broad fields, abundant crops, huge herds, and that these good things are shared by the dead with those living who conduct themselves rightly as regards the earth.

4. In making sacrifices to the spirits, some offer the precious earth as a sacrifice, allowing only the chief to make the offer since only he is possessor of the earth.

5. To be rid of certain fevers three beans are boiled. The sick person transfixes two of these with thorns and throws one over his left shoulder, and a second over his right shoulder; the third he eats. The first two beans are to "try the earth," that is, to propitiate the evil spirits in the earth which are probably causing the fever.

6. It is forbidden to whistle in the fields between the planting and the harvesting of the mealies, lest the spirits be called and decrease the harvest.

7. Before the first fruits of harvest can be eaten, some of the unripened grain is mixed with the stomach contents of a sacrificial goat and, when cooked, portions are given to each village. Thereafter the crops can be safely eaten.

How closely the spirits of the dead are believed to be associated with the soil they once tilled is illustrated

by the story of Ekila, the old gardener at Bolenge on the Congo River. Her passing touched the hearts of all peoples, Nkundo comrades from the group of villages lying along that section of the river and missionary friends who had learned to love and respect this industrious matriarch.

Herself a Christian, she was revered by Christians and non-Christians alike, and scores sought from her the *"bokako wa swa,"* a form of blessing given by the aged among the Nkundo people.

The secret of the great respect for her on the part of many Congo peoples was that even though growing old she had not ceased to be useful. To the end no one surpassed her in reputation as a gardener. One heard much about the magic charms that she held for gardening—more, in fact, than one heard of her tireless energy and effort and industry in her gardens.

But the time came when even Ekot' Ekila (Grandmother Ekila) had to lay down her short-handled hoe over which she had bent for a long lifetime. A flourishing garden and a deathless reputation were left as memorials to this outstanding woman. The villages mourned, some with quiet Christian sorrow, some as only pagan Africa knows how to mourn and to broadcast its grief.

Not long after her death, the missionaries heard the measured monotone of Congo music raised by a great host of voices, and looking down a path toward the far end of the village saw a long procession of women

adorned with skirts of banana leaves and grass, chanting and dancing in a syncopated rhythm that would now seem less strange to Western ears and eyes than was once the case. Unquestionably the women of the whole riverside were "on march."

Inquiry revealed that they were going to the garden of Ekot' Ekila, the great gardener whose spirit had passed on, to seek her last blessing. From that garden each woman took a root of manioc, the region's staple food, and bore it to her own garden, where, planting it, she looked for the blessing of the great gardener's spirit upon her own efforts.

A widely prevailing belief amongst Africans is that an all-powerful ruling Spirit, variously named, is the creator and owner of the land. This spirit gives permanent possession of it to the people collectively, to the tribes. The chief becomes the human title-holder in the name of and for the sake of the tribe, but offerings of the first fruits of the land must be made periodically to the ruling spirit.

The African calendar is largely agricultural, based upon regularly recurring rains, dry seasons, prevailing winds, planting, cultivating and harvesting seasons. In a west coast region where the rains start regularly the same fortnight year after year and end sharply seven months later, a chief once told me that his infant son was "two rains" old.

African festivals have much to do with the earth and manifestations of forces of nature. Crops, game, fish,

herds, rain, drought, prevailing winds, the moon, high waters, volcanoes, all have their important influence in shaping the drama and ritual of the social and religious, as well as the economic, life of the different African peoples, just as they did in the lives of our forbears whose heritage is yet somewhat visible amongst us in our Western beliefs and practices.

Voices from nature seem often very clear and potent to the mind of the African. He finds no difficulty in understanding the allusions to such voices by the prophets and writers of the Old Testament.

Sacred groves, hallowed hills, fearsome rocks form a part of African religious life, and so does dancing. African dances are legion and are performed for a variety of purposes and observances. Most of them have some religious association, however distant, with the mysterious forces of the earth and of nature.

Not a few African tribes believe that in many circumstances dire results can come from the simple act of glancing backward. A sick child is carried to a place of healing, placed with its back toward the spot and the curative influences are invoked. When they respond, the child is carried away, the utmost precautions being taken that it shall not look back, lest it see the spirits dwelling in that spot. To make sure that this calamity does not happen, the child's eyes are sometimes plastered with grease. Where evil spirits are concerned, the most formal injunctions are laid upon possible victims not to look back lest the evil ones overtake them. The

primitive reasoning seems to be that if the evil is not seen it does not exist; or that unless a person actually sees it or turns his eyes in its direction, it cannot distinguish him and he is therefore safe by being invisible.

Between current African beliefs and practices in regard to land and those of the peoples of the Old Testament, there is a goodly measure of resemblance. For example, the Old Testament has numerous references to the communal holding of land, for which many close parallels are to be found in African life. Especially interesting and significant are the strong protests of the prophets against all efforts to break up the communal system and their warnings of the dire results that would follow if the individualistic type of land ownership were allowed to creep into the life of Israel. Among many striking passages that might be cited from the words of the prophets are I *Samuel* 8, *Ezekiel* 45, *Isaiah* 5, and *Micah* 2.

Although the similarity between certain Old Testament situations and current African ones should not be pressed too far, many definite points of likeness leave small doubt that in Africa today we are seeing a people working through some of the phases of belief and culture which were recorded of the children of Israel and of some of their pagan neighbors in the pages of the Old Testament. In this fact, Christian workers who are privileged to share in the presentation of Christ to the emerging African peoples find a source of unending fascination. But if it adds interest to their work it also

adds many problems. How best may the Christian religion as we understand it today be presented to a people living no nearer than the Israelitish stage of three and four thousand years ago—or rather to a people who, except in some particulars, have not yet reached even that stage? How may the human handling of the religion of Christ (and it has to be humanly preached and taught and lived and handled, of course) be done so as best to help the Africans of today pass from conditions somewhat paralleling those of Old Testament times across the wide gulf separating them from the insistent demands of the modern age? Not only is there this long time-lag in African experience, but there is an extraordinary diversity of current conditions amongst Africans regarding land, language, habits, and occupations.

PROBLEMS OF DIVERSITY AND CHANGE

How many times is one asked, What sort of country is Africa? How do Africans look? What is the African climate like? If you, reader, ever make such queries and get simple, unqualified answers that Africa is thus and Africans are so, beware of your information's source! For of nearly everything African there is variety and profusion. If you think of the parched Kalahari and Sahara you must also remember the lush shores of Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. If you picture the sun-drenched savannas of the uplands, do not forget the greenish gloom of the equatorial forests. To

say that Africa is the land of pygmies is to lose sight of the seven-foot Shilluks of the Nile. Ten thousand mixed animals together on the open plains of East Africa make an astonishing spectacle, but many a knowledgeable person would prefer seeing, if possible, that queer, shy and probably rarest of all quadrupeds, the okapi, as it slips silently and singly through the all but impenetrable forests of the Ituri. Some Africans farm and some fish, some hunt and some herd, some stay "put" and some wander widely. In color they range from black to albinos; in disposition, from intrepidity to passivity. . . . Africa presents really a variety of variety.

All this complicates the problem of the change-over from the old to the new. Just as it has come to be realized that wholesale cultural importations from abroad will oftentimes not do in Africa, so must it be appreciated that in Africa itself different parts require different approach and treatment.

But in all this diversity there is also a certain similarity with ourselves, in Europe and America, who also are diverse. And in this similarity, in turn, and in the measure of parallelism which exists between the Africa of today and the culture of our forbears three thousand years removed, there is perhaps a new key to the door of our understanding of African life.

So often in thinking of Africa we have classed it with the utterly romantic, exotic, unreal, and remote, and have regarded it as unrelated to our past, foreign to our

present, and lacking in any significance for our future. Nothing could be more incorrect. Our forefathers, both those of the nearer East and the still nearer West, passed through in the earlier stages of their civilizations many of the same life experiences that the Africans are undergoing now. Our heritage carries much that the African is more recently accumulating. The difference is not so much of content as of time. In the germinative sub-layer of primitive life our racial roots mingle with theirs.

If they are black and we are white; if they are, many of them, pagan and we are, some among us, Christian; if there are other differences which they, no less than we, note and argue, let us reflect on this: what they are today, we were yesterday; but where they will be tomorrow, we may never go. That is perfectly possible. As a race of whites we may be quite unable in the end to keep pace with the unleashed energy of an African people catapulted within a single generation across three thousand years of history, culture, and religion onto the swift roads of modern progress.

HOW CAN THE WEST HELP AFRICA?

What can America and Europe do to aid in bridging the gulf today between the Africa that was and the Africa that ought to be?

1. A thorough objective study of the religious and social life of the African should be made. Can we, from the slough of world depression, a slough that has

sucked in more than industry, finance, trade and labor; a slough that has engulfed nations, bogged down political systems, water soaked the foundations of society and tilted the church to unbelievable angles—can we, who have brought ourselves to this pass, continue to look superciliously upon African socialism and communalism? Have we nothing to learn from a society, primitive though it be, where personal need in the midst of collective abundance is unknown, where the individual gladly and as a matter of course bends his will to the common good, where the yields from property supply the needs of all, where religion, however low it stands in the scale of religions, nevertheless controls the whole of life?

No, there is something there for us to study, adapt, propagate and adopt. I am well aware of multitudes of African shortcomings, of tragedies of life and spirit, of limitations of the primitive and of the utter inadequacies of the pagan. But with all that, I am convinced that there are qualities of African life which it would be well for us to examine carefully and with all the objectivity of which we are capable, and which assuredly should be refined and given added temper in the new life Africa is forging.

2. And then the land. The African, with his ignorance of the needs of the soil or paucity of fertilizers or both, treats the soil badly in his agricultural routine. Regularly, every three or four or five years, he abandons the plot he is cultivating, hews another out of

virgin forest or chops one out of second-growth brush, burns all the vegetation, leaves the ash to fertilize the ground, and starts a new short period of cultivation of the fresh plot.

This process, of course, is most wasteful of land resources. It denudes the land of timber, thereby reduces rainfall, thereby checks vegetation, thereby promotes erosion, thereby tends to convert valuable virgin forest into worthless desert sand.

Two things have worked to save much of Africa from the fate that might be expected to follow such methods: the relatively sparse population and the marvelously rapid rate of yield in most African soils. Because the population to a square mile is small, the successively denuded areas are comparatively small. And because vegetation grows rankly, the succesively abandoned plots are overgrown quickly with grass and scattered scrub.

Where these conditions are not fulfilled, however, where the population is dense or the soil not sufficiently fertile to produce new growth in a brief period, erosion has already set in. General Jan Smuts has sounded a call regarding the danger of this in South Africa. About one-tenth—the best tenth—of the arable lowlands of Basutoland has been cut out of use by gullies and ravines. In some parts of the Union of South Africa the condition is even worse. In many other parts of Africa, too, desert and famine areas have begun to spread. All this is mostly due to ignorance and to lack

of fertilizer, conditions which the new foreign agricultural instruction and aid must and will help to remove.

Beyond all these questions of the use of the soil there is much in the African's conception of and attitude toward land to repay our careful study. Land to him is a fundamental social possession, to be used in all its parts and in its entirety for the total well-being of the group. Misuse of land carries heavy penalties. What we mention above as faults in using the land are not by Africans considered misuses. Ignorance and lack of fertilizer make those methods right and normal to them. Misuse would be allowing assigned cultivable land to remain uncultivated; attempting to assign land to persons not members of the group; trying to reserve for individual use parts of the common pastoral, hunting or ritual lands of the tribe, or some equally unsocial action.

The African, as has been noted, has a definitely spiritual attitude toward land. It is the gift of the supreme spirit, the mother of the race, the supplier of all temporal needs, a punisher of evil and the abiding place of the departed. It is the intimate link between all generations gone before and the one now living. "The race is one—those alive above the earth and those sleeping beneath." [1] Those are not just words to him. They are beliefs, deep convictions. Consider what an effect such

[1] *The School in the Bush*, by A. Victor Murray, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1929, p. 39.

fundamental convictions exert on his thinking and outlook, not only upon land but upon a host of other matters tied in some degree to his land: property, wealth, agriculture, labor, hunting, fishing, food, building, marriage, offspring, authority, tribal initiation, origin of life, destination after death and all that comes between birth and death.

If Christianity is to become indigenous in Africa, it must have in its temporal manifestations a land ethic quite different from that generally recognized in the individualistic West. This will involve no change in the principles of Christianity. It will be rather the application of more Christian principles to land tenure and use than we ourselves are habituated to employ. We shall need to develop Christian sanctions of our own with regard to our occupancy and use of land. We will be forced into new thinking with reference to God's relationship to earth. How can the speculative domination of land in areas of greatest land need—so profitable for a grasping few, so costly in spirit, in health and in life itself to the masses, as in city slums—be squared with Christ's concern, by him laid upon us, for every living being?

The African, pagan though he be and primitive as he is, would seem to possess certain social capacities and certain ideas of land worthy of closest study and assuredly of preservation in the new religious, social and economic life into which he is being so precipitately inducted.

3. A third way to bridge the gulf is to bring ameliorating influences to bear on certain points of contact between foreigners and Africans.

Vast Native reserves have been set up in Africa. "Reserves" connotes values and valuables set apart and preserved for given purposes. "Reserves" as applied to Native lands in Africa too often denotes areas insufficient in size and under par in quality, sometimes set aside to provide foreigners with proportionately larger and more desirable holdings. As the Africans emerge and sense this more and more, so does their feeling of injustice and resentment grow.

In important sections of Africa the only commercially productive agricultural work an African can find to do is that of a hired laborer upon land which has passed from tribal occupancy and use to the control of foreign individuals or corporations. Instead of developing as a farmer owner in the new world being formed about him, he is becoming only a hired laborer. It is true that sometimes his present physical conditions under such a system are better than they would be at the same stage in developing a farm of his own. Under foreign employment he may be given a blanket, a mosquito net, bed, food, clothing, medical attention and recreation along with his money wage. But that verb "given" itself spells trouble, and "may be" adds to it. He is not on his own, individually or collectively. He is economically at the mercy of foreign employers. We insist on breaking down his tribal solidarity by

our Western individualism, but hamper his growth in self-reliance by holding him as a day laborer even in agriculture.

One may admit that in some types of foreign development in Africa such a policy is necessary. Africans have as yet neither the capital nor the experience to operate alone the great mining industries, the banking and transportation facilities. In those, progressive cooperation is needed, and is to be found in some places. In the Belgian Congo, for instance, Africans now drive and fire all the railway locomotives, captain and engineer many steamboats, have responsible clerical positions in banks and offices and almost completely man the great smelters and mines of the Katanga.

But upon the land, their land, there is scant justification for an exclusive hired laborer policy. Nearly every crop commercially important in Africa could be satisfactorily produced by Africans upon small plots of their own with the technical advice and cooperation of foreign interests: cotton, coffee, cocoa, maize, palm oil, peanuts, piassava, sisal and numerous others. Rubber might present more difficulties because of the necessity of handling the latex quickly and in quantities, but the great bulk of soil products could be so handled.

This would give the new African society a wealth in money, experience, accomplishment and character of far-reaching effect. Too far-reaching, possibly, to satisfy certain interests which short-sightedly are greatly concerned with keeping the African "in his place"—

and for their own purposes have moved that place far from his ancestral land to the crowded city locations, the high-walled mining compounds, the sea and river warehouses, and the vast agricultural concessions where even the palms stand regimented, and an African human unit becomes a number and a fingerprint.

The demonstration in the Gold Coast of small-farmer possibilities is convincing. There two-thirds of the world's cocoa is produced. It is produced not on big European-owned plantations, but on little plots of a few acres each, planted and tended by increasingly self-relying African farmers who are building for themselves wealth and life in a satisfying way. It is not by chance that the Gold Coast government has accumulated the largest financial surpluses in Africa; that the restricted area of the Gold Coast produced an Aggrey; and that there has grown, out of its surpluses, its Aggrey and its friends, a new-born educational institution of great conceptions, Achimota—of which something more later.

Then there is the color bar. Bars and barriers are playing sad havoc in world life generally. They can be built of the most surprising and opposite materials. The Maginot defensive line from Belgium to the Swiss frontier is of concrete and steel, but it seems no harder really than barriers of caste built in India of nothing more material than ideas. Tariff walls and immigration barriers there are. And color bars among others.

The problem raised by the latter in Africa is acute.

In its severest form it is found in South Africa. One and a half million whites, many of them poor and ill-equipped, live in fear of six and a half million Africans. They have one land to enjoy together, but there is by no means maximum enjoyment. Although the whites have most of the fertile land and remunerative employment, they fear they cannot keep them. Fear then drives to ever harsher measures. Native life is walled around by hard restrictions: arable land is withheld; a score of "passes"—tax receipts, registration slips, travel permits, etc.—are in some places required to be carried on the person of each African, with arrest, fine and imprisonment as penalties for non-compliance; skilled employment is generally not given Africans; living quarters in cities are often neglected and become breeding places of disease and discontent; farm laborers are left much to the mercy of their masters; and the African is in general deprived of a great deal that is uplifting, encouraging and satisfying. Opponents of such treatment are gaining power in South Africa and are pointing out that the tight walls and increasing forces of antagonism, top and bottom, are creating heats and pressures which approach explosion. The situation is dangerous not only for South Africa, but for all the continent and for the world.

It is at such points of contact as these, typical of an even wider range, that foreign Christian influence should be exerted to see that ameliorations are effected and that wiser counsel and broader justice prevail.

CONTRASTS

One leaves Africa after two or three decades of life there with a mind full of opposites, a memory stocked with contradictions. The African is this, but he is also that. Africa is so, but it is also thus.

One reaches America. . . . If Africa is thus, and so; if Africa is a land of contradictions, pray, how describe America? One doesn't try, but turns instead to toy with contrasts that force themselves on the returning wanderer.

There, personal wealth and individual want are both largely missing. In general, food and famine, goods and poverty, prosperity and privation are had share and share alike by all the people.

Here, one finds private fortunes aggregating hundreds of millions; more than seventeen thousand personal annual incomes exceeding fifty thousand dollars each; and at the same time millions of people unable by any personal effort to win food and shelter and raiment, dependent on charity or government for mere subsistence.

There, the individual's first duty is so to live and act that the whole group will prosper and be protected from adversity.

Here, it is the all too generally prevailing view that the individual's first duty is to "Number One."

There, land, that primal necessity for all people, is held directly and inviolably for the use and good of all.

Non-cultivation of assigned cultivable lands and attempted selfish employment of lands held for general use are both punishable. A tribe was once profoundly outraged in its sense of the fitness of things when a garden plot assigned to a welcomed missionary in its midst was merely fenced.

Here, the land is not only fenced, but all the forces of society are invoked to uphold the sacred property rights of individual ownership.

It was once the fashion to paint the African as possessing nothing worthy of salvage for use in the new order of life that he must enter.

On the other hand, some idealists would have pictured him as perfect in his primitive milieu, in no circumstances to be spoiled by civilization's profane touch.

Both are wrong.

The African is strong and weak, grasping and generous, savage and affectionate, childlike and wise, promising and disappointing. He is, in one word, human.

He has a great many qualities, as do we, that are of doubtful value. Abroad these are very well known. They are the publicized material of Africa. They probably need no reenumeration here.

But there are with them qualities of the heart and mind and spirit of priceless worth to Africa and the world. On the bridge which we with them are building let us see that a lane is kept open for the assured passage of those qualities. Only by our so doing will Africa

march to join us, bearing her full charge of wealth and good for the world.

God forbid that this bridge of entry should be choked completely by loads of gold and diamonds, copper, ivory, radium and oils, coffee, platinum, cotton and cocoa borne in the glistening arms of a people spiritually denuded and materialized.

God grant that as they come they may come also with song, with a Christianity touching every one of their life realities, with the meekness which is unconquerable strength, with their hereditary concern for all members of the group unimpaired, with those spiritual qualities which may easily be worth infinitely more to the rest of the world than Africa's wealth of soil and mines which now bulk so large.

III: Africa and World Peace

THERE IS NEED FOR AN ENTIRELY NEW APPROACH TO the international problems that Africa presents to our generation. A radically altered conception of Africa in the mind of the world must take the place of older views if the nations are to achieve a stable peace, a peace of consent, of reason, rather than a succession of stop-gap truces negotiated with ever increasing fear and hatred for ever shortening intervals between ever more deadly wars. Can peace never come *before* war? Since a proper peace never need, for reasons within itself, be followed by war, why, the mind asks, can we not have peace before war rather than after? Is that result attainable in the world relationships of today?

"Out of Africa, ever something new." Let us examine a new peace-before-war possibility in Africa. Once again the new may appear out of that prodigious continent—or it may not. But let us look.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

For the past sixty years of our modern era Africa has been regarded largely as a colonial grab-bag, into

which any "power," if it were powerful enough, could thrust its national hand and pluck wealth and treasure. Africa has consequently become a source of continual territorial and economic, and hence political, contention. The expansionist and imperialist adventures which began on the continent of Africa between a half-dozen European contenders sixty years ago led through a thirty years' trade war, with additional causes of strife flowing in from other areas, straight to the terrible struggle begun in 1914. It was over those things which huge, helpless Africa offered and represented—territory, empire, raw materials, trade, shipping, domination, prestige—that the world fought. Four years. Ten million dead. A civilization nearly engulfed. With Africa as one of the chiefest of the spoils.

The war in blood-caked trenches came shudderingly to a close. The tongue-and-ink war in conference rooms and treaty halls began. In the latter, as in the former, the territory and raw material of Africa represented one of the prime prizes.

Seventeen years later another war, again and still for African empire, has dragged the world to the very brink of military catastrophe.

Africa has been and always will be a source of fiercest conflict so long as she is dealt with in the spirit of the 1880's. In that decade began the scramble for Africa. The Dutch already had a foothold in South Africa. The British were beside them, and had relatively small stakes here and there in other parts of the continent.

The Portuguese were established on both east and west coasts. The German empire was beginning to feel its unity, power and need and was making claims for African territory. As king of the Belgians there reigned that astute monarch Leopold II, searching keenly for power far beyond the packed eleven thousand square miles of his limited European monarchy. France had started to rebuild her colonial empire on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and was hungrily reaching out for a larger domain beyond the Sahara to match the ambitions of her neighbors. Across *Mare Nostrum* there blew to Italy the scent of Africa, which already had drawn Spain and Portugal to its shores.

Suddenly, Europe leaped at Africa. The fastest and strongest of the powers got the greatest prizes, but every entrant in this race for empire got something. It was an astonishing sight.

Since before the dawn of history the bulk of Africa had lain shrouded and unknown. Century after century explorers had tried to pass the insuperable barriers that guarded its secrets.

Then, in the new age of science and world commercial expansion, the dauntless explorers of the nineteenth century began to succeed. They grew in numbers. Two among them came to dwarf the rest, Livingstone and Stanley; the one following the other and enormously influenced by him. Together they stand for the highest and the widest in African exploration. Together they did the chief work of opening Africa. But for a num-

ber of years after Livingstone's discoveries, and for a shorter number after Stanley's, the world seemed to devote but scant practical attention to Africa. Churchmen, scientists and humanitarians were deeply interested. But "big business" of that day and foreign chancelleries paid little heed. It looked hopeful for a time that Africa might be gradually and sympathetically aided to make up, along her own lines, those scores of generations during which she had all but stood still.

It was not to be. The land-grabbing spirit of the 1880's was common to most great European nations. There never had been a period quite like it. Probably there never will be again. It was short in duration as epochal periods go. But in intensity of rivalries, speed of action, territorial coverage and resulting world complications, the gobbling of Africa in that decade has no parallel.

The detailed story has been well and variously told in many languages and places. Here we can only note the fact that when the worst frenzy of the period was over and geographers and statisticians and colonial offices could compute some of the calculable results, this is what the political chart showed:

Of Africa and Africans:

France had	6	areas,	2,730,224	sq.	mi.,	27,724,568	people
Britain had	17	"	2,070,155	"	"	30,744,630	"
Germany had ...	4	"	931,460	"	"	12,600,000	"
Leopold II had ..	1	"	909,000	"	"	20,000,000	"
Portugal had ...	5	"	790,161	"	"	5,389,527	"
Italy had	2	"	188,500	"	"	850,000	"
Spain had	3	"	253,850	"	"	124,011	"

A Franco-British war had narrowly been averted by grudging French withdrawal from Fashoda on the Nile —thus saving for Britain the Nile link of the treasured "all-red" route dreamed by Cecil Rhodes from Cairo to the Cape, and debarring France from linking her territories on the west and east coasts.

In exchange for a free hand in populous Zanzibar, Britain renounced claims to French Madagascar and ceded to Germany the bare and barren North Sea island of Heligoland—a deal on which Britain was later to pay interest many times compounded in lives and ships in that frightful quadrennium following 1914.

A man in his own right, by solemn international convention, had received title, almost in fee simple, to a million square miles of unknown land with twenty million people thereon. Leopold II had one of the world's greatest river basins in his possession under the strange name of the Congo Free State. Never had such a thing happened before in this world.

Outside of Egypt, an entire continent, except two small parcels, had been partitioned amongst rank outsiders, who came with guns and gin and missionaries, and the capitalistic system and doctors, and the *Code Napoléon* and monogamy, and coinage and steam and a hundred other perfectly bewildering foreign intrusions.

Behind these new territorial acquisitions there were other results, less tangible but very real—the disappointments, strifes, fears and hatreds that rivalries in

Africa had laid up for Europe's future. The European press of the period was full of accusations, bitterness and threats. Lord Salisbury talked bitingly of the Gallic cock which was scratching the sands of the Sahara. Bismarck loosed thunder at England. Portugal was suspicious of all the powers, and sought vainly to extend her African holdings by rather devious pacts with Britain. Leopold II was deep in international intrigue to circumvent France in her Central African designs, which ran counter to his. Out in Africa a Welshman, Henry M. Stanley, carried Leopold's banner; while an Italian born in Brazil, De Brazza, pushed the tricolor of France to the top wherever he could. The London *Daily Mail* shouted for Britain to "roll France in blood and mud." And from all over the globe a highly questionable crew of adventurers surged Africa-ward, bent on thrills, fortune and a sort of absolution from past misdeeds in their own countries.

National claims were staked out on the flimsiest of bases sometimes, or on no basis at all. Most reprehensible methods of bribery, corruption, force and even murder were among those used to coerce African rulers to cede title to vast areas, lands which generally no chief or group had the right to alienate in European fashion since title was vested in them only as perpetual trustees for the clan or tribe, and transfer of title in the European sense was a procedure unknown in African life. In most cases they comprehended little of the documents to which they affixed their marks—even "marks"

were new to men who had no written language and to whom paper and pencil were quite unknown.

Once national claims were staked, some form of economic exploitation was usually started in order to make the "stake" worth while. As exploitation proceeded it was found to yield varying returns in different areas, and this added to national jealousies. Those who had drawn mediocre prizes in the great African lottery plotted bitterly against the grand prize winners. Nearly all Europe was indulging in the African gamble and dangerously unsettling international results were already beginning to make their appearance.

PORTENTS OF THE WORLD WAR

The portentous nature of these results became ever clearer as the world passed into the first decade of the new century. A good many thousands of miles of colonial boundary had by this time been run in Africa. A certain forced stabilization of territory had thereby been achieved. But it was forced. It was like a pegged currency, stable only so long as there was a power to uphold it. A power might grudgingly admit possession of given territory by another, but it secretly reserved all its rights to bring about dispossession of that territory if it could.

On occasion this sub-surface struggle that was constantly going on among the powers came explosively to the surface. At those times the newspaper public became to a certain degree conscious that there was

dynamite in Africa as well as—and perhaps because of —diamonds and gold and rubber.

The most dramatic public clash was over Morocco. Spain, France, Britain, and Germany were jockeying year after year for dominion and preference in that realm. Successive sultans were set up and knocked down as puppets and victims of foreign jealousies. The foreign and colonial offices seethed as this last portion of disposable African territory dangled before them.

Finally, at what seemed a most critical European juncture, the Anglo-French agreement of April 8, 1904, was signed, giving France a free hand in Morocco, Britain a similar liberty in Egypt, and each nation certain preferences in the other's territory. There were probably smiles and murmurs of satisfaction in Paris and London that a tense international crisis had received relief.

But it was not so. Two hours on March 31, 1905, were sufficient to accomplish eventually the upset of Morocco, Africa, Europe and the world. They were two of the really fateful hours of history.

On that day Kaiser Wilhelm II stepped ashore in Morocco, at Tangier, dispatched greetings to the harassed and vacillating sultan of Morocco, loudly proclaimed that for Germany Morocco was still a free country, and that Germany intended to help protect it from the foreign aggressor which was threatening it.

It was a bold challenge to France, and also to Britain, which had given France its sanction in Morocco.

Africa flared again into a possible *casus belli.* Beginning with those dramatic two hours, European chancelleries came surely to the conclusion that a general European war was inevitable.

That war was almost precipitated when on July 3, 1911, the German gunboat *Panther* steamed to the port of Agadir on Morocco's western coast and announced that it was there for the protection of the important German interests in Morocco. Africa and Europe actually shuddered that day. I recall with what tense feelings even two years later we saw the *Panther* glide silently to its anchorage in the open roadstead of Monrovia, Liberia's capital, put a formal visiting party ashore and that night play its searchlights over the palms and houses and promontory of that city. A group of us sat that evening on the second-story balcony of the home of the late Colonel Charles Young, the American military attaché, watched the unwonted pencil of light write upon the face of Monrovia, and talked of what the writing meant for Africa and the world. The *Panther!* Even then and more so now the recollection of her sleek hull and fitting name puts a chill on my spine.

It is well established now that the only reason war did not come in that summer of 1911 instead of three years later was because the chief actors were not ready. Armaments were not deemed adequate, and international alignments preparatory to war were not yet all settled. But the Agadir incident made clear to the world

what was ahead, and from that moment the final tuning up of the war machine in Europe went on ceaselessly.

A NEW SET OF AFRICAN FRONTIERS

The World War came, with that inevitability which was so tragic and with those results which have already kept the world in misery for two decades.

Despite treaties, Africa was dragged into the fighting. Although it had been solemnly agreed that the whole center of Africa should be neutral territory in time of war, that pledge along with hundreds of other pledges, great and small, was not kept. For the whole four years war was waged in German East Africa, and it took a post-armistice wireless from Berlin to the German commander in the field to stop the fighting there. Togoland on the African west coast fell promptly to British and French troops. German Southwest Africa was taken by forces from the Union of South Africa. And after about two years Kamerun was conquered by Franco-British effort.

Not only were pagan, Mohammedan and Christian Africans made to fight Europeans and other Africans under Christian flags on the soil of their own continent; they were shipped in thousands to Europe to taste the gore of "civilized" war so far surpassing in barbarities and extent of slaughter anything of which "barbarous" Africans had ever even dreamed as profoundly to shock, nay, shatter the African's first conceptions of Christianity and civilization. The baleful effects of this terrible

experience on the African peoples cannot even yet be fully gauged.

We have thought of Africa as a cruel and pitiless land, torn and bleeding from fierce inter-tribal wars, and we have boasted of the "peace" the white man brought it.

The greater part of Africa never knew war—real, bloody, large-scale war of nations against nations until we began to exhibit it to her in 1914. I was in Liberia when the war broke out, and heard of it a week later from the lips of a Liberian Native. I was deep in the Congo when firing ceased, and heard of that ten days later from the crew of a passing little palm-oil steamer. In the years between, the white world had done things to relatively peaceful Africa whose damage only future generations can accurately measure. Pagan Africa had been forced into bayonet relations with Christian whites, and her body social is even yet pierced and raw.

The war had been on for six weeks. A Liberian chief was calling one day. He wanted news of the war. In his broken pidgin English he asked:

"Dem war no finish?"

"No, he no finish."

"What for he no finish? Dey no kill some people?"

"Ah, yes; dey done kill plenty people."

"How many people dey done kill? T'ree people?"

"Ah, more'n t'ree people."

"How many? Six people?"

"No; more'n six people."

"Huh! Dey done kill *ten* people?"

"Ah, Masagai, dey done kill hundred people, t'ousand people, ten t'ousand people."

The old chief's face twisted into horrid disbelief, then he put his hand before his mouth in the almost universal African sign of astonishment, and said,

"A-a-a-h! Dat be war for true!"

It *was* a war for true, the worst Africa has ever experienced, the gift of Western civilization.

When, in 1919, the treaty struggles replaced the armed combat of the Western Front, the question of African territory loomed large. Defeated Germany perforce signed away title to all her pre-war colonial holdings, and the victorious Allies absorbed, among others, all those in Africa, finally settling, in the midst of much bitterness, on a division which gave Britain the largest, France the next and Belgium the least of the spoils.

Italy got nothing in Africa, or nearly nothing. By the secret Treaty of London in 1915 she had been promised virtually a free hand in Ethiopia as one of the rewards for breaking her understanding with Germany and coming into the war on the side of the Allies. But she did not get that free hand. And the fateful chain of world events seemingly started by Italy in 1935 and involving the future of Ethiopia and the peace of the world, in reality had its first links forged in the hot fires of the 1880's in Africa and its temper set by the cold bath of frustration of Italian hopes in Africa at the close of the

World War. Again Africa appears as a cause of world crisis.

Viewed from Africa, beyond Italy and its Alps lies—Germany. Already the Rhine bridges have echoed to the tread of German troops marching into the Rhineland, not yet to fight, indeed, but nearer—and readier. The drama advances. And a Germany which has thrown off nearly every restraint imposed by the Treaty of Versailles will scarcely be stopped before regaining her African colonies, or until the wealth of Africa's resources is made available more freely than ever before. There are unmistakable evidences that Germany merely bides her time. She watches Italy fastening a grip upon Ethiopia, and Paris, London and Geneva as they, in turn, watch. It is unlikely that resurgent Germany will rest before her place in the African sun is once more assured.

TRUSTEESHIP AS A COLONIAL PRINCIPLE

No; the old ways will not do. A new international attitude toward Africa and a new policy are needed. It is not too difficult to put the new idea into words. It might be expressed in any one of several phrases. May we choose this one: that in dealing with African colonies the principle of trusteeship for the Natives should replace that of exploitation in the interests of foreigners.

This proposal is neither wholly new nor entirely opposed to international thinking regarding Africa, nor has it been left completely untried. There have been

some attempts to practise it. Nevertheless, the application of this principle would mean for some governments now having colonies in Africa a complete reversal of present outlook and policy. For the others it would mean, if not complete reversal of existing practice, at least a basic change of serious proportions. It would not, therefore, be easy. But neither will it be easy to deal with Africa in the future along the lines at present being followed.

The conference and general act of Berlin of 1885 had definitely in view for all tropical, and then unknown, Africa something very much like the principle of trusteeship. The burdened hearts of Livingstone, Stanley and a dozen other explorers and Christians, crying out against the terrible slave trade and the barbarous practices of certain cruel African chiefs and tribes, had aroused a deep emotional response throughout Europe and America. Very few individuals even faintly imagined the wealth later to be uncovered in tropical Africa, and the white public in general looked upon any effort for Africa as likely to go unrewarded in counting-house results. The public was thus somewhat more ready to conceive relationship to Africa in terms of philanthropy, good will, humanitarian service. No great material rewards were envisaged. America, the Scandinavian lands and some other countries desiring no African territory whatever, nevertheless participated in these deliberations and signed the general act of Berlin, influenced largely by the commendable announced

intentions to end the slave trade, regulate the sale of arms, reduce the liquor traffic, stop tribal wars, explore the wide remaining fastnesses, introduce education, medicine and Christianity, establish free trade, and watch over the interests of the Native populations. This seemed the birth of a new international regard for backward peoples and their territory, and it provided cause for considerable rejoicing.

We cite this not to bemoan the failure of a new ideal to bear the full crop of fruit which had been hoped from it, but to recall that this principle is now more than fifty years old in relation to Africa. The Berlin gathering of 1885 had behind it a far less sensitive world conscience, and much less adequate international thinking, than is to be found in 1936, but, even so, that conference proposed and approved some decidedly hopeful and far-reaching principles of civilization's trusteeship for primitive peoples and their territory. These pronouncements have had their influence in greater or less degree upon all governments in Africa, even upon those which have failed most lamentably in applying them.

A second example of a partial attempt to realize the ideal of world trusteeship for Africa is found in the system of mandates for the administration of former German colonies, which was developed in connection with the peace treaties following the World War.

There can be no warrant for any great enthusiasm over the practical working out of mandates in Africa.

They were conceived on a high plane of international thinking, but it is certain that in every country profiting from them they were regarded by some political leaders as a convenient device for accomplishing that territorial extension which has come to be looked upon as the crown of a victory at arms. Here again, however, certain faults in application, even large ones, do not affect the point made: that the mandate principle was the second international effort to substitute trusteeship for imperial domination in some areas in Africa. Further, mandates, even with all their imperfections, offer greater safeguards to African well-being than any other system yet applied.

A third pronouncement involving this principle was the statement of Great Britain before the 1935 Assembly of the League of Nations, that it was prepared, and considered it necessary for the future peace of all mankind, to confer as to a wider and freer distribution of the raw materials of the world. Since Africa is such a rich storehouse of raw materials—in some respects the greatest such storehouse on earth—and at the same time such a checkerboard of foreign colonial domination, it would naturally be one of the first places where the principle of free international access to raw materials would be practically considered. In spite of all the difficulties surrounding such an effort, it would be easier to apply those principles to Africa than to any other area in the world of comparable size and resources. And more and more clearly does it appear that only by the

application of such principles and others based on sharing—principles of substantial international justice and interracial adjustment—can the world be saved from the terrible war incubus which now threatens its very life.

AFRICA IN THE WORLD'S TRADE

The basic resources which Africa possesses, their current and future significance in the world's life, and the ways in which they could be more freely shared to the enormous advantage of Africa and other continents, are not as yet fully comprehended by most of us in America. But Dr. Alexis Carrel has shown us anew and dramatically that we know, oh, so little about our very own selves, and that an area of ignorance sometimes affects our destinies as powerfully as an area of knowledge.[1] It may be so in the case of unknown Africa.

The gold and diamonds of South Africa are, of course, known and their influence has been definitely felt in world affairs for four decades. The Boer War was not wholly unrelated thereto. But gold and diamonds—well, most of us have none of the one and possibly one of the other. They represent wealth, but they are not the stuff out of which modern life is visibly constructed. They are background; important, as modern theatrical background has become important, but in a way scarcely more essential than background was in Shakespeare's day. Remote from our daily life, they

[1] *Man, the Unknown*, by Alexis Carrel. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1936.

rather confirm in our thinking Africa's general remoteness. In just that measure they betray Africa and us.

Africa is not remote. Africa is not just unobtrusive background stuff on the stage of world affairs. Africa is in us and with us and of us, already. Without Africa even now American life would be something quite different.

Your neighborhood chain store could not sell a tin of seven half-peaches for a dime were it not for Africa. For cheap tins require ample tin-plate, and tin-plate in its manufacture requires a sizzling hot bath of yellow palm oil—and it is from Africa that there come the tens of thousands of tons of palm oil necessary each year to supply Sparrow's Point and other tin-plate milling centers.

"Ford" would still, to the American mind, mean a wading place across a stream were it not for Africa. For Africa produces largely the cobalt indispensable to high-speed tool steel, and without high-speed tool steel the mass-production automobile would not be.

Two-thirds of every cup of cocoa or pound of chocolates that you buy comes from Africa, the source of sixty-five per cent of the world's cocoa.

Nearly all the radium the world now uses comes from pitchblende mined in the Congo.

The absurdly high cost of rubber a few years ago was reduced partly by turning to Africa as a new source of supply. Under a restrictive production agreement called the Stevenson plan, British and Dutch growers of

rubber in the East Indies combined to force up artificially the price of rubber. American manufacturers were hard hit and all users of rubber were affected. The determination which drove the Firestones to Liberia to plant thousands of new rubber trees there was shared by others in the rubber industry, and finally broke the monopoly of the Stevenson plan.

The electrical industry and others requiring copper are increasingly dependent on Africa. In the Congo and Rhodesia lie the richest and largest copper deposits of the world. In the Congo a few months ago I walked for two and a half hours 2,500 feet underground, thigh-deep in running water, through seemingly endless prospecting tunnels, and the engineer who accompanied me knocked bits off the monolithic rock with a heavy sledge to show the glistening fresh ore beneath; he said it was the richest copper mine yet discovered, with ore assaying forty-six per cent copper—the Prince Leopold mine. Its owners estimated that for another dozen or fifteen years they had ample supplies of ore above this lower level. What we were seeing was the preparation of galleries upon which another generation of wealth-seekers would work. With such ore available it is no wonder that many American and other low-grade copper mines are now merely black and abandoned holes, their labor discharged, machinery rust-caked and bonds depreciated.

The interdependence of the two continents both commercially and industrially is illustrated vividly in the

reports of the Department of Commerce on American importations from overseas. From Africa we get much of the wattle bark used to tan American leather; and casings for American-made sausages; and coffee for the discriminating taste (it is actually named for Kaffa, in Ethiopia); cloves are brought from Zanzibar for the American housewife; and even canary seed is imported to feed American cage-birds.

To these items should be added the many rich minerals and other imports which we bring in from Africa. But these are not to be compared with what certain European states draw from the same source. We who have no territory, little capital and no most-favored-nation position in any part of Africa, not even in little Liberia, have to be content with merely an outside jobber's volume and profit in our African business. That is all right, even preferable.

But the attitude in Europe is different. Among its nations there exists the need, legitimate in many of its elements, for freer access to primary materials. If that need is not met, many people will die, not necessarily in the holocaust of war but as the result of inadequate food supplies and lowered resistance. Before they die, however, they will make what collective stand they can for a fuller life. That, in any particular case, may mean armed strife, or it may not, but it certainly means economic instability, fears, hatreds, and social upheavals, and it is in ground thus worked that wars flourish.

It should be unequivocally stated that Africans have

the full and vital right to share in all the natural wealth of the continent. The whole land was theirs before white foreigners came. But just as there have been successive waves of racial penetrations in Europe and America throughout the centuries until the original title to the territory and wealth of those continents is beclouded, so have there been successive migrations and expulsions in various parts of Africa by its own peoples until today it would often be difficult to determine in which tribe or race the original title was vested.

Further, the Africans had never discovered many of the materials which are most valuable in the modern world—cobalt, radium, diamonds, platinum, mica and others. Some which they had discovered—copper, iron, gold, ivory—were put to very restricted use. Again, these natural resources have their maximum use and value only when related to modern industry and commerce, and if they had been left to await the development of the African peoples it would presumably have been generations before the Africans derived from them more than a fraction of their real value.

To combine the equitable with the practicable, can the world not arrive in Africa at a plan, which some have already long urged for the other parts of the earth, that would permit the development of these goods for the joint good of Africa and the world?

ONE KEY TO WORLD PEACE

That one sentence tucked into Britain's statement at Geneva in September, 1935, about exploring the possibilities of redistributing the world's economic resources is undoubtedly a key to world peace. Some other keys are needed also, but without this one the door to world peace does not yield. No one formula for achieving this end would fit all requirements everywhere. But among the elements that must be taken into account are readjustments of territory between European colonial powers; equalizing of colonial tariffs, joint international capital investments and transportation pools; relief from discriminatory tax and other schedules; abolition of national or group priorities except for agreed purposes; controlled freedom of mineral prospecting and soil experimentation; acceptable production quotas; fair marketing facilities; and absolute removal of all premiums on nationality as regards opportunity, treatment or reward.

I have placed territorial readjustment first because it is the hardest. It presents all the selfish obstacles to its accomplishment that all the other elements do. In addition it raises in a more difficult form even than the others fundamental questions of Native rights. Such rights have been in the past disregarded often enough to warrant a cynical suspicion that they would not now be regarded. Such suspicion must be dissipated, not only by fair words and promises but by bringing the whole

body of Native rights openly into the discussion from the start and allowing them their full weight.

Any colonial territorial readjustments between European nations involve Native rights and desires first of all in this: whilst for the most part they were not really given the initial choice of their present European rulers, yet they have acquired from the latter already a certain heritage of foreign language, type of education, national mannerisms, literature, coinage, industrial and commercial practices, and even national history, which have been powerful forces in forming the lives of this whole generation of emerging African leaders in each colony. Must they give up all this, unasked for in the beginning but now a hardly-acquired part of their lives, just to allow jealous European countries to compose their extra-African differences? One need only hear educated French Senegalese speaking of Belgian Congolese, or British Gold Coasters talking of Portuguese Angolans, or some former German Africans discussing present French rule, to sense the degree of loyalties already and rather surprisingly felt by many Africans to "their" European countries and their distrust or dislike of certain others. If territorial readjustments meant change from colonial rule to African autonomy, they would have much support from the Native populations. But a mere shift from bonbons to pretzels, from roast beef to spaghetti, arouses only antagonism.

A rising people just mastering French does not want to start all over again with Italian. Carpenters using

inches will not shift to centimeters—I know some who have not done so even after thirty years under a centimeter régime. It is hard for "lorry drivers" to become "chauffeurs." There is more in this latter than just a name change. It means driving to the right while sitting on the left and shifting with the right, instead of driving to the left while sitting on the right and shifting with the left, and it means motors and pumps and carbureters and ignitions all built differently, screw-pitches different, and what not. A clerk skilled in Portuguese accounting would have to educate himself afresh to give satisfaction in a German counting-house. A tribal chief ruling in capable cooperation with Belgian authorities would need considerable retailoring before joining a British administration.

It is a great deal to ask of primitive, striving people to submit to such a change when they are already undergoing transformations never before demanded of any race. Many of them would not willingly submit. And they would have much public support from outside Africa. It is perhaps for these and other reasons that the British spokesman made no suggestion of territorial readjustment as one way of permitting freer access to raw materials. There are great difficulties in its way, and after all it is not an absolute essential to that end from the purely technical point of view. Whether it may be from the political, remains to be seen.

The other elements involved in opening sources of supply more freely and justly to the whole need of the

world present difficulties also and contain dangers. But if the unprecedented world outcry against the old methods of territorial rape and imperial domination which arose when Italy first threatened Ethiopia means anything, it is that great masses of people in most nations are willing to run the risks of peace rather than to die the death of war.

FOR THE GOOD OF AFRICA

For another and most important reason a new treatment of Africa is needed.

It is needed for the high interests of Africa itself, for the full development of its millions of promising people, and for the prime essential of workable interracial relations in a world of peace.

Never too often can it be said that, unless the African policy of foreign governments is informed by and directed to the ultimate, continental good of Africa and the African, it will react in future reprisals upon its directors and all their kind in literally appalling fashion.

The African is in this world to stay. Not even the blindest and cruelest of administrators and masters has ever been able, even in a limited area, to exterminate him. He has a joy of life, a will for life, and life will he have. If anything is socially certain for the future, it is that the African, the Negro, will live, will increase, will fortify his cultural position, will augment his economic munitions, will entrench himself in the earth which he loves wherever he is—and will be ready to

the very limits of his being for whatever circumstances may bring.

I cannot believe that, unprovoked and unprodded, the Negro will wantonly start battles against the white man. In no historic time has he done so. A striking trait of the character of the African is his meekness. This has been and is still at times his undoing—temporarily. The meek in contact with today's Occident suffer by conquest but shine by contrast.

But it is not only from the New Testament that one reasons that the meek shall inherit the earth. No one else ever can *inherit* it. Alexander conquered much of it by fighting, and died a young man, a victim of his own excesses. Napoleon won much of it by the sword, and died in middle age a captive of his enemies. Wall Street gains great holdings in it by gambling, and commits suicide when the market breaks. All acquisitive domination falls finally of its own selfishness and the weight of the bitter opposition engendered by its ruthless fight for power. No part of the earth would ever be content to see itself pass by peaceful inheritance to a truculent people. The truculent might conquer it, but only the meek could inherit it. On that reasoning the Africans may look forward to a generous earthly patrimony.

But we have no evidence that the African meek will remain so meek as not to fight if sufficiently provoked and prodded. On the contrary, remember Zululand, German Southwest Africa, Ethiopia, Haiti. Africans here

fought with abandon, against great odds. When in Africa their sense of injustice, measurably growing, swells beyond limits; when their sense of cohesion breaks down still more completely barriers of distance and language, so old and so powerful, that have kept Africa apart; when they feel the new strength that comes from a larger vision for their race and have with them the weapons their new knowledge has brought them—then will come the moment when Africa speaks.

But let the foreign world in colonial Africa speak first, and let it say in honest words to Africans this:

Africa is your home.

It and you are needed in the modern world.

We remain as friends and helpers, for service in preparing you and developing Africa for the needed contribution you and it can make and the place you and it must take.

We disclaim perpetual dominion over your land.

We promise progressive sharing of administration with Africans.

For you there shall be perfect freedom, within the limits of the good of the whole, in matters of religion and teaching.

Economic development of your land shall be related to your own economic and cultural development, and you shall share in the gains from it.

Education shall be so undertaken as to bring all African peoples with their notable heritage and

valued contributions into mutually fruitful relationship with each other and with the rest of the world.

Henceforth it is to be in steadily increasing measure collaboration and joint effort between us, for Africa and the world.

Then let the foreign world say to itself about Africa:

Foreign nationality slams no more doors in Africa—colonial areas are hereafter open to one as to another within the spirit of the foregoing agreements which we have made with the Africans themselves.

Artificial and discriminatory barriers to trade and industry are down, not to be reerected.

Elements of trade and exploitation injurious to Africans and their land are barred, notably the liquor traffic, unregulated recruitment, forced labor, the color bar, inadequately rewarded effort, the concessionaire system, alienation of vast tracts of African land from Native use.

Colonial Africa is neutralized as regards outside world conflict. Neither shall foreign wars be carried into Africa nor shall Africans be impressed into foreign wars.

Outside governments exercise only a trusteeship for colonial Africa, so that, in collaboration with Africans and each other, the resources of Africa, human, spiritual and material, may be most wisely and sympathetically developed.

Is that utopian? No.

To continue the general past policy of the white world toward Africa is to contribute inevitably, outside Africa, to the world's tragic movement across fields of blood to the destruction of what is termed a civilization.

To pursue the general past policy of the outside world toward Africa is to engender, in Africa, racial and personal fears and hates on the part of both races which can have ultimately but one climax: a race struggle of the bloodiest sort spreading to other parts of the world, costly beyond description in life and treasure and spirit, and absolutely needless if right attitudes are now taken.

A new international conception and treatment of Africa will avoid these intra-African conflicts, and will go far toward preventing the extra-African struggles.

Trusteeship and progressive collaboration is the cheapest policy in the end. Beyond doubt it is the wisest.

And it is Christian.

IV: Young Africa at School

THE COMPLETENESS WITH WHICH ANCIENT TRADITIONAL African life is being changed in a single generation means that in Africa more than on any other continent today education is coextensive with life. In Africa education probably has to deal more profoundly with more things of life than in any other continent.

It is of course true everywhere that real education must deal with the whole of life. Among all major peoples outside Africa, however, there has been a more gradual cultural rise toward the levels of today, and from this process have come social, religious, economic, political and intellectual accretions to race experience out of which have been gradually constructed the deep-lying foundation walls of education. The children of Europe, Asia and America with few exceptions find a considerable part of this educational underpinning ready for them. Successive generations of youth do not have to build it anew clear from the bedrock of primitive experience.

What is said here does not imply that Africa's foundations are not good, even though they rest so deep in

animism. They are as good as those of any race. But they are still far below the level of the modern world's building line. If Africa and the outside world had not already agreed in the past few years to let a rush contract for the immediate building of Africa, African society would have pursued the unhurried methods of its past and that of all other races and would have slowly, generation by generation, raised its foundations by a course here, a pillar there, an abutment yonder, and all would have been normal—and slow.

That method is now quite impossible. There is not yet, however, a proved method of doing the job satisfactorily on the scale and with the speed now demanded. The best builders can only experiment. The most trusted formulae elsewhere used have dealt with Lilliputian stresses, pygmy dimensions and snail speed compared with what is being attempted in Africa—that is, bringing about within a generation or two changes in the life of 140,000,000 people that in other societies have taken many centuries.

Viewed thus, the attitude of not so many years ago toward the educational undertaking in Africa stands revealed in all its absurdity: (a) that almost anybody would do to teach in Africa, and (b) that our formalized educational program of the 1900's was all that was needed.

What Africa obviously requires is the most devoted ministration of the most skilled and understanding teachers of the world; and schools that are adapted

with the finest pedagogical precision to African mind and society.

Does Africa have such schools? Is she getting them?

MISSIONARIES THE EDUCATIONAL PIONEERS

The first schools in almost every part of the Africa we are studying were mission schools, that is, day schools established, staffed and supported by missionary bodies representing the churches of Europe and America. For practical purposes we may consider the pioneer schools of Africa not only as mission schools but as Protestant mission schools. In only a few places did Roman Catholic missions, even when they preceded Protestant entry, pioneer in education. For the most part their educational program lagged behind during the first several decades of African effort. It has been only in recent years that they have become generally active there in the field of education.

These pioneer mission schools had the most extraordinary difficulties to overcome, including all the grave problems usually associated with founding an educational enterprise, plus the special and in many respects hitherto unmet problems arising from the primitive cultural level on which the masses lived, plus the enormous technical difficulties due to the fact that there were in all the continent only two or three written African languages. The first missionaries and teachers found confronting them about eight hundred strange spoken languages which had to be reduced to writing. That

task has gone on for many years and is still unfinished. There was nowhere to be found literature of any sort in the vernacular, whether for educational or other purposes, and but very little in any foreign language suitable for translation and use among Africans. The population had to be taught to read and write before other education could start. Age-long habits and disabilities, optical, mental, muscular, occupational and disciplinary, had to be altered and overcome as an antecedent to education as we know it. Through many years, for example, the optical strain arising from the unfamiliar exercise of reading and the muscular fatigue from the unaccustomed movements in writing shortened to minutes instead of hours the fruitful daily period for the type of instruction then usually given—the three R's, unadulterated and unrelieved.

A school program having a better balance between the active and the sedentary would have earlier lengthened the daily period in which effective teaching could be done. But except in a few instances that balanced program—and one balanced in other elements as well—had to await the dawn of the new conception of African education which was yet to come.

Teachers as well as the taught have had hard lessons to learn in Africa. And their experiences as they have tried to overcome their ignorance of the life about them has, one hopes, been a good lesson to those in Africa or elsewhere who blindly hold to the cast-iron theory of absolute white superiority and utter white sufficiency. So

long as that attitude was held, comic as well as very tragic mistakes were made.

Foreign teachers had to base their first contacts with the people on an understanding of the simplest details of tribal life and custom. Incidents like the following were frequent in the years of beginnings. A pioneer missionary in an area where the Native language was yet to be captured and brought within the confines of the printed page, ruled a notebook, sharpened his pencils and stepped forth to acquire a vocabulary.

Before the interested crowd which in those days instantly surrounded any foreigner, he pointed to a tree, wanting, of course, its name. Nothing detectable happened. He jabbed repeatedly with index finger toward the tree, and a great deal of benevolently amused chatter arose in the crowd. After a long time and repeated pointings he was successful in isolating a word from the buzz of talk flowing around him and repeated it eagerly: *bosai?* Heads nodded, obvious vocal assent was given and he happily entered his first notebook prize: *bosai* = tree.

Then he pointed to a stool. The former process had again to be repeated at great length, but in the end he got his word. The word, however, was *bosai.* He was surprised. But confirmatory pointings bore out the fact, obviously; so he rationalized it—the tree is *bosai,* the stool is made of wood, therefore stool is called *bosai.* And it was so entered.

Next he pointed to a dog. *Bosai.* To a woman. *Bosai.*

To this and to that. *Bosai,* came the answer from all sides and to all pointings, with increasingly voluble explanations and apparent amusement marked with surprise, none of which he understood. He closed his notebook and departed for cogitation.

It was not until some time later and by accident that he discovered what was for him to be the key to the language. *Bosai* meant—finger. He had not known even how to point according to that tribe's custom. They never used the finger, and seeing his so prominently and repeatedly extended they naturally thought he was directing special attention to it, probably for its name. So they tried helpfully to oblige. Their record of the incident has not been handed down, but they must have thought him a singularly stupid being, though white, not to have caught the name the first time it was so obligingly given.

When he learned how to point—extending the lips and elevating the chin in the direction desired—his notebook regained its usefulness and his pencils dulled themselves with gratifying speed. He was able finally to collect a vocabulary which, with additions by other linguists, now embraces some thirty thousand words and from which a literature of hundreds of thousands of printed pages has been created to carry a new meaning for life to more than a million people using that tongue.

First of all, the foreigner had to learn to point in "African" before he could speak or teach or exhort or guide.

EARLY EFFORTS IN FORMAL WESTERN EDUCATION

Unlettered the African was, and still too largely is, and very primitive; but uneducated, no. Under the old tribal order each individual acquired an education as he matured, designed to fit him for the life his fathers had known and expected him to live. For that bare purpose it was not wholly inadequate, although it lacked many desirable elements and stimulated little progress.

But now suddenly the young African finds that the society for which his education was to fit him is being completely changed. A kind of life never before faintly imagined has entered from the West, and African education of the old type has dropped well down toward zero for effectiveness.

In this period of swift transition two barriers made prompt appearance across the path of a new education for Africa. The African did not know enough of pedagogy or of the general world conditions affecting his life to devise suitable education himself. And the foreigner did not know enough of Africa or the Africans to create an adequate system as quickly as the times demanded. There seemed nothing to do in the pressure of the need but to import a whole scheme of foreign education. So Western schools were brought in—an importation quite as foreign as gin, gunpowder or calico.

Those were the days when classical education fastened itself to the coastal fringe of Africa, when Greek and Hebrew were pasted on to Mende and Ibo, and when a

popular biography might have been entitled: "From Loin Cloth to Barrister's Robe: The Life Story of an African."

It is to the everlasting credit of Africa that some of her sons meritoriously survived this experience. What a tribute to Africans that individuals among them could not only bridge such a broad gap in a single lifetime, but could, while doing so, also bear the burden of a foreign education which was already beginning to break of its own weight among the peoples of Europe and America where it had evolved.

After all, the Æneid proved to be of no vital daily necessity to the African boy as he desperately sought a foothold in the shifting economics about him. Barristers had no place in the old African life, and but a limited one in the new. The new education had got off to a not too happy start. But it was a start.

The old tribal method of training was not a thing of science and textbooks and academic halls. In most places halls were not. There were only mud huts. Textbooks were not, either. There was neither paper nor written language. And in place of science there were knucklebones, *jujus* and witch doctors.

African education dealt with getting meat from the forest or plain, fish from the river or lake, millet and plantain from the soil. It told one what to do in building a house, setting out on a journey or getting evidence against an enemy. A young man's relation to society and a girl's initiation into the mysteries of life were a part

of education. And so was "medicine," but it did not lead to the degree of M.D. It led to mass involvement in a system of witchcraft, dominated by fear, which many believe was the largest single factor in the African's centuries of retardment. It is hard to overstress the repressive and thwarting effects upon succeeding generations of Africans of the witchcraft and fetishism which fixed itself so blightingly upon their souls.

I recall an experience falling under my own observation in West Africa, in which an African was for months protected from exposure as a murderer because the whole community feared his "medicine" and his powerful fetishes. He was a petty official, appointed from outside the tribe by a distant government bureau to exercise some fiscal supervision. In a drunken orgy he had killed half a dozen sub-chiefs because they failed to dance fantastically enough before him. He "made medicine" to protect himself, and for months no outside whisper was heard of the crime.

Then our party of five foreigners passed through the region, so remote that in scores of villages we were told no white men had ever before been seen there. We arrived at the large walled town where this man was temporarily living. We were met outside the walls by an impressive delegation, including the man in question, and were escorted to the largest house, which had been cleanly swept and sprinkled to lay the dust of the clay floor, and otherwise invitingly prepared for our occupancy. A glance up at the thatch roof, however,

was rewarded by glimpses of the blue sky beyond, and as the rainy season was just beginning we quickly polled our party and found ourselves unanimous for declining this house and requesting another, smaller and unswept, across the main street of the town. We made no elaboration of this request to the chief, and when he assented we moved across at once, after only a few moments spent in the larger building. Little did we suspect how our action was to be interpreted!

We stayed two or three days in that town, and toward the end we began, through interpreters, to get rumors of murders committed nearby. Little by little we were secretly told the story, and in the end were able to send the petty official involved down to the coast to stand trial for murder.

At the trial this typically African story came out.

After the killings the murderer employed the most influential medicine men to concoct protective fetishes to hide his guilt. This was successful.

Then the news came through that a party of powerful strangers was approaching, and the murderer was frightened. He again called in the medicine men, and it was agreed that a house should be specially prepared for the reception of these strangers, and other measures taken. So, the witness continued, serious preparations were made, the central act being the killing of a white fowl. Its blood was sprinkled upon dead leaves and mold deep in the forest, that even as it disappeared there, so should the murderer's sin disappear before the coming strang-

ers. Its feathers were tossed upon the stream, that as they were borne beyond sight, so might the sins of the guilty one be borne from the sight of the strangers. Within the house being prepared for us the heart of the fowl was eaten, with the assurance that even as it was swallowed up so should the sins of the killer be swallowed up from our knowledge. And its head was buried beneath the threshold of that house, that even as it was concealed from all men, so should knowledge of the crime be concealed from us. All was then ready. Our arrival was calmly awaited. And when we came we were escorted to this most suitable and specially prepared house.

Then, the testimony went on, things went wrong. The five strangers stepped into the house and their luggage was following them in, when suddenly their own stronger "medicine" detected the buried chicken head beneath the door and the other preparations which had been made, and without a word they quit the house, went across the street to another, smaller, unswept and not nearly so attractive—in which no "medicine" had been used. The townspeople saw this happen, understood very well that the strangers' "medicine" was more powerful, and as soon as they could thereafter made themselves informers on the guilty one to the strangers, lest the latter detect their guilty knowledge and punish them for shielding the murderer.

Here is an illustration of the breakdown of one element of the old as the new came in. Their education and

experience had worked in the old environment to protect the murderer and strengthen witchcraft. Before the arriving strangers and their powerful "medicine," however, that education and experience largely broke down.

In this instance it was something harmful in the old which was shaken by contact with the new. A part of the old education, however, had objectives which the new needed also to meet, and part of its content was sufficiently solid to support some modern superstructure. Such were many of the elements dealing with food, shelter, collective action and religious motivation. They were primitive and limited and had some positively bad features, but they offered real opportunity for liaison between the old and the new.

Other phases of the old education needed clearly to be abandoned, especially those that had to do with magic, witchcraft, "medicine," sexual exaggerations, and the like. These were the elements in African life, unfortunately, that struck the foreigner first and that most impressed themselves upon him. Many of them entered his mind by the eye gate, a striking entrance always. It was practically the only gate of learning. The ear gate was long blocked by unfamiliarity with the eight hundred languages. It was much easier for the foreigner to see Africa's physical excesses than it was for him to hear her spiritual aspirations. His impression was therefore chiefly one of shock and his reaction was destructive. He was sure that most of what he saw was undesirable. He felt everything must be rebegun. And since he

saw little material at hand suitable for use in rebuilding, it seemed to follow that everything must be brought in from abroad. The mines were bringing in foreign smelters; the banks foreign calculating machines; the trading houses foreign cloth; the government foreign laws. The educationists brought in almost wholly foreign systems of schooling.

Perhaps all we need to remark further concerning this period in Africa's new education is that in spite of all the handicaps it imposed, a fair number of individual Africans were able to benefit from it and then to render aid to their fellows. The instances are not numerous, but that there should be some is a tribute to African adaptability.

THE POST-WAR MOVEMENT TOWARD ADAPTATION

The World War did things to Africa, but it also did some things for her. Of the latter, a most important one was to change her education.

The European world, drained and shattered by that struggle and looking for new resources from which to rebuild its life, awoke in the post-war years to a new realization of what Africa had to offer. It thought it had long known Africa and that where aid was concerned poor, weak Africa required always to receive, could never possibly give. And now, suddenly, Europe saw that it had never before realized the extent of Africa's riches and what it could draw therefrom in oils and grains, minerals and men. It found itself partially re-

vived by the new life Africa gave it. And it began to mine and plant and plan as never before to develop Africa in order to save and enrich its own life.

The more the material riches of Africa were uncovered—and they were presently to stand forth immense, seemingly inexhaustible—the greater the desire to exploit them and the greater the concern over all means of doing so. One indispensable means was the African. He therefore began to assume really huge proportions in minds which before had seen him only as naked, black, illiterate, weak and therefore negligible.

Coinciding with this awakening selfish interest in the African on the part of industry, commerce and government, was an advancing comprehension of the African's background, character and needs on the part of missions, philanthropy and government. The result was that for the most diverse reasons there was a union of desire to see the African advance. The enormous responsibility of education in this process became more and more apparent, and increasing study of the fundamentals of African education went on. In 1917 Dr. Charles T. Loram published his significant book, *The Education of the South African Native*, and between 1920 and 1924 the Phelps-Stokes African Educational Commissions traveled widely over the continent and presented their epoch-making reports.

Many forces were at work and many made their contributions to the changed aspects of African education, but no single influence was greater than that of these

two international and interracial commissions led by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones. Timely, informed, prophetic, the commissions' reports, and the wide thought and cooperation which sponsored the commissions and followed up their studies, form a base line from which to date the new era in African education.

"Adaptation" became the slogan. And it became much more than a slogan. Adaptation and integration became the basis of an almost completely changed approach to education in Africa. Attempted adaptation there had been before, but it was chiefly in the effort to adapt the African to a foreign education. Now the serious effort was to adapt the education to the African. In retrospect it is surprising that that had not been attempted before. In retrospect history has shown many surprising things.

Adaptation of education from a program consisting only of the three R's to one meeting better the daily needs of the people could not be made suddenly and is not yet complete. It is not spectacular. But it brings education to real grips with more and more phases of life, large and small. It shows, for example, that dirty drinking water is dangerous; that tsetse flies when they bite may leave not only a large welt but also the germs of sleeping sickness; that water in old gourds and stagnant pools breeds mosquitoes, which bring malaria and yellow fever, which bring death. It demonstrates that sheep dipped are often healthier than undipped. It shows how the crop yield from a given plot can be doubled by

proper seed selection and cultivation. It takes the old hand skills, improves them and adds new skills for the new life. Recreation is presented in new forms. Better relationships in home life are inculcated. And through it all the demonstrated love of God is offering itself as a replacement of that which was cruel and hopeless and full of fear in the old life.

One of the early and fine efforts of adaptation of education to the human and soil needs of a district was that accomplished at Kambini in Portuguese East Africa, through the Central Training School of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Stanley High visited it in the course of his wide travels and has described it for us:

> One [of the missionaries] is a practical engineer. He built a brick kiln and began to quarry building stone from the hills. He discovered a miniature falls on the river that flowed through the farm. Aid from home made it possible for him to harness those falls. A small electric light and power plant was installed. A sawmill went up. A hydraulic ram was installed and water pumped up the hill to irrigate the garden plot a third of a mile away.
>
> Another missionary . . . is an agriculturist. He went over the twelve hundred acre farm. More aid from home and he began its cultivation with modern methods; plows and a tractor—the first in this corner of the world; good seed; crop rotation.
>
> The third missionary is an educator. Under his direction Kambini has become a training school for the preparation of Native leaders. . . . The new arrivals are enrolled in the regular four-year classes. The curriculum taught there is

provided by the Portuguese government. At the end of the four years the students go up for the government examinations which, if passed, entitle them to teachers' certificates.

Then, having finished the government requirements, the students, if they choose, go on to the Normal Training Department—the Kambini Teachers' College. Here, in a two-year course, they are prepared for village teaching.

A third group is directed into the Theological Department. The Kambini pastors-to-be are either graduates of the Central Training School or sent up directly from the quarterly conferences. Theology—it is much more than that at Kambini—is a three-year course. From its graduates the Christian evangelists for this territory are recruited.

But this the merest outline. The real story of Kambini is not found in the industries or the farm or the schools themselves, but in the way they operate together and in what they are producing.

Take the students in the theological school, for example. Most of them come to Kambini with families. Self-support is a necessity for them. The lessons of self-support are essential to their leadership. Consequently, in the first year, they are put to work. There are no rice Christians among them. In the first few months they are given some aid. But after the first crops—that they help to cultivate—are harvested they are self-supporting: made self-supporting under the leadership of the agricultural missionary on the farm that he manages.

The missionary in charge of the industries also has a hand in their practical preparation. He teaches them to make brick; to weave baskets; to build houses; to tan hides.

And their wives, at the same time, are taught to read and

write, to sew, to care for children; in short, to provide that kind of domestic example and leadership that Africa so sorely needs.

When the evangelist goes out to preach, therefore, he is at once a center for a new type of life in the village. He preaches on Sunday—and very effective preaching it is, too. And the remaining six days of the week he is at a variety of odd but significant jobs. He helps his parishioners to build better homes. He teaches them the importance of cleanliness. His wife sets up a crude dispensary and becomes the town's physician. His little field is well tilled and what he has learned at Kambini makes it possible to give the other villagers essential lessons in the business of agriculture.

The Christian evangelism sent out from Kambini becomes, thus, an agency for the community-wide transformation of his primitive parish.[1]

One of the most complete efforts toward the new adaptation is to be found at Achimota, the government college just outside Accra, capital of the Gold Coast. This old British colony gained its name in Portuguese four and a half centuries ago when actual gold came out of it. Some yellow gold still comes, but other golds are now much more important: cocoa, which we have mentioned, turned into gold; Aggrey, a nugget of most valuable gold; and Achimota, into which golden experience has been poured and out of which a stream of golden wealth in African life is to be expected.

The story of J. E. Kwegyir Aggrey, born a Fanti in

[1] "The Miracle of Kambini," by Stanley High, Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1929, pp. 6-10.

1875 on the Gold Coast, is worthy of careful reading.[1] His education was begun in the Wesleyan mission at Cape Coast. He later was graduated from Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina, which is supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and where he subsequently taught for many years. Still later, he successfully passed his examinations for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University. He combined in a measure not too common in any race those qualities of vision, wisdom, preparation and pervasive personal magnetism which fitted him splendidly for a task of leadership and mediation between white and black, between European and African. He was a member of both Phelps-Stokes Educational Commissions to Africa. His capture of wide public approval amidst the difficult conditions in South Africa, without sacrifice of principle on his part, was remarkable. There were similar reactions almost everywhere he went.

When Achimota came into being in 1924, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, governor of the Gold Coast, who was so largely responsible for securing the government grant of $3,000,000 to establish the college, and the Reverend A. G. Fraser, brought from Ceylon to be its first principal, agreed on inviting Aggrey to become assistant vice-principal. Principal Fraser later said that Aggrey did more to win for Achimota cooperation from Africans of all classes than any other six men.

[1] *Aggrey of Africa*, by Edwin W. Smith. Special edition published by Friendship Press, 1936.

Aggrey was especially at home at Achimota because in its board of trustees and its faculty there was racial cooperation, and because in its curriculum it sought to offer complete preparation for life. One course was to lead to a university degree in letters, another to a science degree in agriculture. Courses in public health and sanitation were as strong as those in accounting and business administration. Games and physical drill shared school time with debates and choral singing. It was a thoroughly comprehensive and cooperative effort, just like Aggrey's life.

When that life was brought to a sudden and untimely close on a July day in 1927 in New York City, there was mourning on three continents. But in the hearts of all those who mourned was also deep thankfulness that a man like Aggrey had lived, coming out of Africa with the pride and heritage of his race and returning to it with the increment of the outside world's best.

Aggrey loved music. He loved music in laughter, from instruments, in song. And he loved it in the human relationships of men harmoniously responding to a Divine Director's lead. He made a parable of piano keys. You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys, he said; and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys. But for harmony you must use both black and white.

Today the beautiful seal of Achimota, that significant school dedicated by the Prince of Wales, now Edward VIII, and symbolic of the new best in African educa-

tion, consists of a section of a piano keyboard, with eleven keys—black and white.

The principle of adaptation has not escaped criticism. It is feared by some as a white mechanism for so lowering intellectual content in education as to prolong designedly the cultural and economic disparity between African and white. By others it is challenged as a device for overemphasizing manual and underemphasizing mental training. It is, in a word, under suspicion as another attempt by whites at racial discrimination and segregation.

That it is susceptible of this abuse cannot be denied. But that this is the attitude of enlightened governments and Protestant missions in Africa toward adaptation is not at all true. To them adaptation is the earnest attempt to build from both ends the bridge to which we have earlier alluded, using every bit of sound material from the African side to throw the span outward as far as possible, and all useful material from the foreign side to meet the African structure; so that, joined, the spans complete the bridge and the whole people of Africa may move over it safely at their own pace.

RELATIONS OF GOVERNMENT TO CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

It would be a disservice to Africa in a study of this sort to blink the fact that the church in America is not of one mind on the subject of its function in education in what we still call the foreign mission fields. There

are those doing and sponsoring Christian work in Africa who feel missions have no rightful responsibility for the education of the African; others believe missions should educate Africans only to the point and for the purpose of enabling them to read the Scriptures; others hold that missions should freely engage in education in order to bring the fullness of the Christian life into the swiftly changing African communities.

As we have said, Protestant missionaries nearly everywhere in Negro Africa were the pioneers in education. What Christianity there would now be without their efforts it is impossible to say; but two or three of the contributions which have been made through Christian education are clear:

Christianity is kept to the fore seven days a week in the thinking and growth of the African school community, instead of just on Sunday as is so often the case in our own land. Religious instruction has an assured place in the programs of public education as they are now being developed by governments, largely on the basis of previous missionary experience. An ever increasing number of African leaders have been trained, and now, as they carry forward their religious and secular pursuits, they form the lay and clerical nucleus of the growing indigenous church. Education has provided a guide in the application of Christian principles to all the changing relationships of African life.

In the circumstances of swift and almost complete transformation in which Africa now unfortunately finds

herself, there is much greater need for the church to take wider direct responsibility than would be the case in a more stabilized situation such as that presented, for example, by America. One may hear some ringing protest at calling the present American situation "stabilized," but what is meant by this comparison is that in America schools, colleges, universities, technological institutes, hospitals, medical colleges, orphanages, homes for the aged, recreational centers, and other institutions of education and social welfare, many of them pioneered by the church and all of them in their best elements rooted in the principles of Christianity, are now for the most part maintained by the state or by agencies not corporately connected with the church. They are a fruitage of our religion.

Paganism has no fruit comparable to this. Governments, dissociated from Christianity, cannot possibly fulfil these functions for the African community. In these formative African years it seems quite indispensable that the church should continue to take a large share of direct responsibility for education, and the ministry of healing, and for those expressions of Christianity in daily relationships which it has implanted at great cost in the life of the Occident and which are equally needed in African development.

The educational burden weighs even more heavily upon the church in those African areas where public instruction is wholly secular, as in French territory, and where there is no public—that is, state—instruction at

all, as in the great Belgian empire of the Congo. The situation in this last-named region is so serious, and is of such vital concern to American Christians of a number of denominations whose mission boards have large interests there, that we may well consider it in some detail.

Here in a territory of nearly 1,000,000 square miles with a population of about 10,000,000 the government is making an experiment unique in modern colonial policy—an experiment of something like abdication in the field of education. It maintains no public schools at all, in the accepted sense of that term. There is not a single neutral, lay, state, public school in the whole area. Instead, the government subsidizes missionary bodies to do the teaching. Religious instruction is the first subject in each year's curriculum as approved by the government. Missionaries and mission-trained Congolese are exclusively the teachers, and missionaries are named by the government as its educational inspectors. There is no comparable area in the world where the government identifies itself so completely with the church in a program of public education.

There are two fundamental weaknesses in this bold experiment:

1. Government, except in the matters of approving the curriculum and annually voting and paying the subsidies, has removed itself almost completely from the control of the education of its own dependent people. This is contrary to the practice of all other colonial governments and contrary to the best thought of the world's

leading educators. It is even quite contrary to the Belgian policy in Belgium.

2. Government has introduced religious favoritism into its educational policy by choosing and subsidizing only the Roman Catholic missions for its educational work. No Protestant missions are given, or under any circumstances can get, any government funds for education. Although they were the pioneers in Congo education, and until twelve or fifteen years ago were almost the only agencies doing educational work in the Congo, under the new policy they are quite excluded from any government recognition or support, not because of anything connected with their work but because they are Protestants.

These two weaknesses offset much that is good in the Congo's educational effort, and raise questions which reach beyond the field of education out into the realm of the international conventions which have been signed to protect the rights of the peoples in the Congo basin and to guarantee religious freedom and equality. There are in the Congo a million Protestant adherents who, because of their religious profession, are denied government aid in education out of tax funds which they themselves have helped contribute.

These large questions of Native policy and international relations cannot be dealt with in a short study of African education. Their very existence, however, will be readily recognized as laying a peculiarly heavy and direct responsibility upon the evangelical churches of

Europe and America for the Christian daily education of the entire Protestant community in those wide African areas where government education is either wholly secular or non-existent.

The obligation is assuredly present elsewhere in Africa also, even where government assumes broad liberal responsibility for public education. Why? In Africa the indigenous religion, in this case animism, is breaking down more rapidly and completely before Western advance than in any other non-Christian country. The African is of a deeply religious character. These few years of cyclonic change are, so far as we can see, those in which Christianity must replace the old religious sanctions if such replacement is to occur. The hundreds of thousands of instruction hours in the tens of thousands of village schools furnish the widest opportunity the church has of inculcating the teachings of Christ in the daily lives of millions of African youth. It is colossal, this opportunity. It would be disastrous to the cause of African Christianity should the church fail to seize it.

Generally, in British colonial territory in Africa the possibility of fruitful collaboration between government and missions is seen and seized. Government adopts a broad policy of educational aid to schools of all origins. French Catholic missions and those of the Church of England, Swiss and Swedish Protestants and all others are measured by the same gauge. Grants in aid are based on compliance with uniform school conditions.

Distinctions are not made between nationalities or creeds. The position is taken that if a mission is worthy of admission to the colony for the purpose of evangelizing the people, it is worthy of inclusion in the educational system if it so desires and conforms to government regulations. As a result many would hold that, in general, several of the British colonies have better, and at the same time more economical, school organizations than are usually found elsewhere in Africa. Maximum educational coverage and depth are assured by this system of almost complete collaboration. Missions contribute their pioneer zeal in education, their accumulated experience, their finely trained personnel, and their unrivaled approach to the confidence and the hearts of the African peoples. Governments contribute the backing of their authority, of public funds, of impartiality, of reasonable uniformity and of effective supervision. And the combination usually results in the greatest good for Africa, Africans, religion and government.

EDUCATION FOR THE WHOLE OF LIFE

If education in this hour of African transformation must deal with nearly every element of African life and prepare the way for changes, where can it take hold? There is so much to do and everything to be done is so tightly wrapped and tied to every other thing. Where can education get helpful fingers into essential first tasks and lift?

Some holds are well fixed, of course, and no small

lifting power has been already applied. The three R's have figured constantly in this connection, and are basic. The early and only trouble with the three R's in Africa came when they were considered as in themselves an end of education. As the top floor they dwarf the structure; as stairs they lead to limitless heights.

As with the three R's, so with some other phases of African education that we must now examine. They have been tried with more or less persistence and skill, and consequently with more or less satisfactory results in various places. Discussion here does not imply that they are all new everywhere. But it does mean that they generally need vastly increased emphasis, much more widely spread effort, and deepened comprehension of their importance for the future of Africa.

Literacy

Is a continent utterly illiterate in many languages more illiterate than a nation similarly illiterate in fewer languages? If so, then Negro Africa once led the world in illiteracy, and possibly still does so. For it was wholly illiterate in some eight hundred languages until the introduction of Western education.

The earliest educational efforts were against this mass illiteracy, of course. All of the three R's attacked it. Breaches have been made in its walls. But the strategy used has been the same as that developed for our homelands where, to overcome "illiteracy," it has in general been necessary only to concentrate on teaching reading

and writing to each succeeding generation in the elementary school.

That is utterly inadequate for Africa where there has been no tradition of reading and writing, no parental and outside help, no press, no literature, little public sentiment to bolster literacy, where methods suitable for all age groups up to grandparents have been needed but have not been devised. Any program for increasing literacy in Africa requires something quite in excess of the reading and 'riting methods of the three R's.

It needs, for example, a serious trial of such a simple and yet socially significant literacy system as that developed in the Philippine Islands by Dr. Frank Laubach, by means of which whole populations are taught simple reading in what formerly would have been thought an incredibly short time. Let those or other effective mass methods be used against African illiteracy, especially amongst adults, and it would help to set forward every aspect of the new education.

Life upon the Land

For the most part Africans live under rural conditions. Urban populations in our sense rarely existed in Negro Africa and there has been but little change in this respect. The European centers lately created house a total of several million Africans, it is true, but these new urban dwellers are not yet urban minded. Their roots are still in the soil.

Christian missions have thus perforce been rural mis-

sions, and their education has been rural in the sense that it has been carried on in a rural environment. It has not, however, been given the rural "set" that it should have. Only too rarely has the educational effort been designedly aimed at helping the African establish the new relationships with the land that are rendered necessary by the completely new society which is taking form.

This involves more than mere agricultural demonstration and education. That too is needed, to aid farmers in improving their tillage, increasing their crops and extending the range of cultivation. Otherwise agriculture will not keep pace with other advancing departments of life and will soon be under a grave economic and social handicap. This will tend to raise the rate of farm desertion, augment the flow of human effort into other less basic callings, render food scarce and dear, and thus create additional stresses in African life.

However, in addition to placing this emphasis upon agriculture, education should seek to give meaning, in terms of the new life the African is being required to enter, to land and water and forest; to crops and cattle and game; to labor and income and property. What values are to be attached in the new life to these things which in the old have been such powerful spiritual factors? How, if the African must conform to Western individualism, is the transformation to be accomplished as regards land and food and property titles with the least possible loss and with the African in as sound a

position as possible when the change-over is accomplished? Or is a compromise to be found which would preserve in the new life some of the undoubted values of African communalism as it fosters certain attitudes toward these basic possessions of life? In these days, when ever larger numbers of African people are being drawn from rural production into urban, mechanical, industrial and service callings introduced by the strange foreign life, what can education do to aid Africans maintain a balance between the former single calling of tilling land or feeding flocks and these new and unfamiliar but inevitable vocations?

These problems are of the utmost importance to Africa. One has the uncomfortable feeling that education has not yet concerned itself adequately with them. This is due partly to their very immensity, partly to the fact that some of them are as new to non-Africans as to Africans. Here again is a glimpse of the unique and fascinating task confronting Africa and those interested in her welfare. Experience does not directly show how these fundamental land and human problems are to be solved in Africa. And in the minds of not a few there is a feeling that effort toward their solution for Europeans and Americans is not thus far so brilliantly satisfactory on those continents as to warrant the confident application of their programs and methods to emerging Africa's needs.

All the forces concerned in Africa's education—African, governmental, mission and economic—ought to ad-

vance their mutual consultations in these important matters far beyond their present stages and prepare promptly at least an elementary tentative program for much wider school use than anything hitherto attempted.

Literature

It is heartening to have here a field in which there has been already a substantial achievement through cooperative effort.

Literature! What that word means to the motherlands of Plato and Tagore and Dante and Chaucer and Tolstoi and Emerson and Dumas and Goethe! On and on could go the list from scores of countries and of scores of writers from each country. What a heritage has come down on stone and papyrus and vellum and rag—and even wood-pulp! What beacons of wisdom and folly, history, hope and error by which to set our national and spiritual courses both for making safe harbors and missing rocky shoals!

Africa has none of that.

For Negro Africa it is all to be created.

We have mentioned earlier the difficulties of language confronting missionaries and other foreigners in Africa. But even when a language has been captured on paper, the literary task is only just begun. In so far as that task can be done by foreigners it has devolved chiefly upon the missionaries. They have had to produce, often in their own language, material suitable for

today's Africa, then recast it with their best skill into idiomatic vernacular, then put the text into type or supervise its printing, then attend to its distribution, then expound it to those whom they also have taught to read, and in the meantime they must be preparing more material to put through the same long process, and again preparing still more material and ever more. To try to fill the age-old literary vacuum of a continent encumbered with hundreds of languages is another of the enormous tasks presented to the world by Africa.

Four great forces are attempting this task shoulder to shoulder: the individual missions, the governments, the Protestant missions together through their central agency, the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

In the first and second named are found some who are giving excellent service to this task, and some who are not. The International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, with Miss Margaret Wrong as its secretary and with its supporting groups in Canada, the United States, Europe and Britain, is making a splendid contribution. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, by sponsoring annual prize competitions open to Africans for literature produced in their own languages, has taken a further step toward the production of a real African literature.

This bringing forth of an African literature is of the highest importance. Circumstances are such that for a

considerable time to come foreigners will have to continue actively in the production of a literature for use throughout the continent. But German writers could never create an American literature; foreigners can never create an African one. A prime immediate task of African education is to facilitate and stimulate the production of a literature by the people themselves.

Visual Education

Some facets of the many-sided education that Africa awaits could be most brilliantly, speedily and effectively presented through the running strips of celluloid which have circled the earth chiefly to amuse. It may be thought a great deal to ask, that Africa should receive educational aid from motion pictures when the homelands of the movies have themselves received such a relatively small deliberately designed educational contribution from this source.

Yet the Western need is in some ways not so great as Africa's, for written language, literature and numerous schools are at hand in the West to aid in education. But in Africa such privileges are as yet available to but few. Africa could use pictures instantly as educational media. Pictures would leap all language barriers and carry home directly fundamental lessons in medicine, hygiene, public health, geography, history, climate, transportation, manufacture, peace, personal conduct, religion, agriculture, architecture, stock breeding, games —a great animated curriculum to be used in the schools,

in the villages, and in the industrial centers to prepare the people for the new Africa.

The first sustained effort to use motion pictures among Africans partly for their recreation and partly for their re-creation was that made by a missionary representing the American Congregationalists, the Reverend Ray E. Phillips, in the Johannesburg mining compounds. This enterprise has now grown to large proportions and draws financial support from the mine owners. The satisfactory demonstration of this method in the abnormal, congested labor concentrations of the Rand is testimony to the power of the cinema in influencing Africans.

At Vugiri in Tanganyika Territory there is being conducted Africa's first adequately backed experiment in making African films for African education. A well equipped pedagogical and pictorial laboratory is there established with British personnel. Pictures are being produced with African casts. They will be widely tested under typical African conditions throughout British Africa. Experience thus gained will be available in framing a definitive program of motion picture education. The initiative in this very important venture has been taken by the Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel of the International Missionary Council under its director, Mr. J. Merle Davis. The Carnegie Corporation is providing the financial guarantees for the experiment, which has every prospect of exerting a deep influence across Africa.

The International Review of Missions for January, 1936, reports the progress of this work during the latter half of the preceding year:

During June and a part of July the Vugiri headquarters were renovated and settled, roads and water lines were repaired and equipment installed. July was devoted to finding and training Native actors and to the beginning of film production. By the end of August the first experimental program was completed, and on September 5 two Europeans and four Native assistants set out on a 3,000-mile display tour through Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya. Enthusiasm with the pictures is reported on the part of widely different types of Native audiences. The attention of the primitive as well as the sophisticated Native has been instantly caught and held by films portraying black men and women in the familiar medium of African life. On the Copper Belt, audiences numbering up to 1,900 gave the closest attention to every detail.

Invaluable assistance has been given by government officials, missionaries, planters and Native chiefs in planning and setting up sets for filming, in working out scenarios and in other ways. Eight films are comprised in the first experimental program.

The expedition met with and overcame formidable obstacles in the shape of rain, cloudbursts, washed-out mountain roads, broken lines of communication and mechanical difficulties; nevertheless, the first program was produced up to time.

The experiment is essentially a missionary undertaking. It aims at being an auxiliary of the church in the task of building a Christian society for the African. It proposes to

place a new instrument of education in the hands of the missionary, to adapt it to Native mentality and needs and to put it within the reach of the missionary educator. It aims at promoting a permanent supply of useful films for the mission program, and at enriching the entertainment and recreational life of the African Christian community.

The fact that the funds being used in this experiment are available only, by the terms of their trust, for use in and for British territory in Africa, leaves the major part of Africa still unprovided for in any large-scale attempt at visual education. It would be of great value if the whole of Africa could be enabled to participate in the benefits to be derived from this new educational medium of such great potentiality.

Jeanes Teachers

One of the romances of American education all too little known to the public comes out of the life of a retiring little Philadelphia Quaker lady, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, who, dying in 1907, left a million dollars in trust for Negro rural schools. Dr. James H. Dillard was made director of the fund and, in collaboration with Mr. Jackson Davis, Dr. R. R. Moton, Dr. Booker T. Washington, Mr. George Foster Peabody and others, began to train and place visiting demonstration teachers in the elementary Negro schools of the South. The result of the fine system of helping and encouraging rural teachers that grew from this magnificent philanthropy was an enormous improvement in the schools.

Jeanes teachers became the prototype of much that was new and hopeful and altogether gratifying in Negro rural schooling. Jeanes teachers were part of a new G.H.Q. staff that led a revolution in education.

And now the impulses set up by Miss Jeanes's gift have leaped the ocean and the plan is spreading in Africa. More and more Jeanes teachers each year are going out to pull the lowly but indispensable "bush" schools up into greater service in hundreds of villages—the romantic flowering of a workable idea intelligently cultivated in fields thousands of miles apart.

The reason for mentioning among the urgent needs of African education this successfully demonstrated method of developing rural schools is again the fact that for several reasons it is very largely British Africa only which is having the benefit of Jeanes training and teachers. This is due to the fact that in these areas government and mission cooperation is a working reality and that government and other non-missionary funds are available for this purpose. It is highly desirable that throughout the whole of Africa this most effective system should be introduced. It can only be done, apparently, by the securing of outside funds not hitherto available in non-British Africa.

Centralized Consultation and Direction

One could mark paths in a half-dozen other directions along which immediate educational advance is needful if Africa's induction into its new life is to be

made as profitable as possible for Africa and for the world. But if the foregoing can be relied upon to give an idea of the trend and scope of those needs, let us end with but a single additional observation.

The need for further progress in centralized educational consultation and direction is imperative. Without it we shall continue to waste strength in cutting parallel paths to similar objectives or cutting diverging paths to different objectives, whereas what we should have in African education is a single clear road to the same objective.

It should not be too difficult to get substantial agreement on a broad rational objective in African education, or on the principle that a single sufficiently wide highroad would better lead to it than a multitude of cluttered bush paths. But when the objective is stated and the highroad is opened, there remains the problem of getting the separate columns to march down the common road.

North America asks what it, as a stay-at-home with no African territory and at eight thousand miles distance, can do to help in the education of the great African continent.

Here is its task: to study; to give; and to pray; and to make sure by the unrelaxed pressure of its informed potent public opinion that its agencies of church, philanthropy and education plan and march together, at home and on the field, down the common highway that will lead to the effective early education of Africa.

V: The Christian Mission in Africa

THE ANIMISTIC AFRICAN CANNOT COMPREHEND A RELIGION which does not directly and actively control every phase of life. For him, some of our current American pronouncements, that politics and religion, or business and Christianity, will not mix, would be incomprehensible. Such a conception contradicts his whole religious experience. Dr. Aggrey, of whom we have spoken, said the African did not know how to separate religion from business. For the African, religion infuses everything. Consequently, when we undertake even a brief outline of the study of Christian missions in Africa and the problems facing them, we are opening all of the front, rear and side entrances upon African life, and those leading from the sky above and from the earth beneath.

Unfortunately, although opening all these entrances into the house of Africa, we cannot possibly penetrate them all in the space of a few pages. True to our Western habit of dividing life up into separate compartments, we have already ventured into some, calling them "land holding," "communalism," "education," and what not. But let us not for a moment forget that in the soul of

the African everything touching his life is at every point bound up with religion. With that tremendously important fact before us let us measure if we can something of the immensity of the task which this new religion, Christianity, has before it in Africa.

THE GOD OF LOVE AND THE SPIRITS OF FEAR

Christianity came to the African as the antithesis of animism. The shortest comparison I can contrive is that it was love *vs.* fear. The basic elements of the two forms of belief were in just such short, sharp opposition as that.

Animism has at its center a belief in spiritual beings, most of whom are ever threatening to destroy man. Life is smothered in the fear of their violence. Magic, witchcraft, divination, sacrifice, propitiation, "medicine," fetishes are all a part of animistic beliefs and practices. Ceaseless vigilance and activity are necessary to ward off the malign influences of the countless spirits hovering about. They nevertheless often break through all protective barriers to injure and kill. Thereupon all the forces of fetishism are frantically summoned. Witch doctors are relied upon in most instances. They are at once detectives, police, grand jury, prosecutor, trial jury, judge and executioner, with such aids as they select and with the entire consent of the tribe. Even the "guilty" usually bow to them in assent. Their verdicts are seldom voided. In the massed fear in which African society exists, the magical wisdom of the witch doctors

is accepted as the bulwark of the tribe. The desire to escape their professional attention and often fatal ministrations is a powerful factor in the individual's effort to remain inconspicuous in the mass of the tribe by conformity, imitation, avoidance of the unusual and the repression of initiative.

In this atmosphere, individuals cower. Peace and forgiveness are rare. Raw punishment prevails. To preserve life, life is forfeit. Fear rules.

For century upon century generations of Africans lived and died within the shadow of this all-embracing animism. Then, here and there along the coasts arrived strange persons with strange ways, completely strange languages and an extraordinarily strange tale which—so far as it could be understood on its first hearing—told of a God who loved and sought and forgave, and whose Son came to live on earth and shortly died out of yearning for man and rose again that all might have more joy in life and, after physical death, spiritual life in peace everlasting. No goods were needed to buy the boons offered by this God of love, no fetishes required to insure his continuing protection. The individual could get it without leadership of the chief, approval of the tribe or intervention of the witch doctor.

It was an amazing tale. Told crudely oftentimes because of the foreigners' ignorance of the vernacular, and always incompletely in those early days because the African tongues had no words to convey some of the most beautiful of its ideas, nevertheless it commanded

attention from the first. It contravened many of the basic beliefs of animism, yet claimed credence. It menaced the whole structure of African society, yet thousands shook off the shackles of conformity to embrace it.

The motives of those Africans who followed the way of the new God may not have been always of a crystalline clarity, and their understanding of the new religion they professed may not have been complete. If so, they only approached in these respects many older fellow Christians outside Africa whose motives also were multiple and whose understanding also was incomplete, but in and through whom God nevertheless worked and still works upon this earth.

THE GOSPEL MAKES ITS WAY

The rising body of the church in Africa is of special interest and significance by reason of its size, its rate of growth, the enormous change it ushers in, and its amazing visible transformation of raw life and primitive conduct.

The story of how the missionaries of many communions coming from many lands first took the gospel to the various peoples of the African continent and planted the church among them forms a long chapter in the history of Christianity in the world and cannot even be sketched in outline in this short book. All that can be attempted here, and in the following chapter, is to give by way of illustration a few glimpses of the developing Christian enterprise in several areas of the

continent. Readers of this volume will wish to complete this brief treatment of a large subject by looking up the inspiring story of the pioneers of their own church bodies in Africa and the record of the Christian movement that has resulted from their efforts and the later service of their African colleagues.

It is practically impossible to exaggerate the trials and difficulties of climate, disease, loneliness, hostility and discouragement which the pioneer missionaries met when they dared to enter Africa to preach Christ.

In the eighteen years preceding 1830 the Church Missionary Society of London had sent seventy-nine missionaries to Liberia. Forty-four died during their first year. The average length of service for the whole period and group was two and a half years. The American Presbyterian mission sent seventy-five missionaries to the same country, of whom thirty-one died and many others were invalided home. The first American Methodist missionary to Africa, Melville B. Cox, died four months after landing, in 1833, with pleading prophetic words upon his lips: "Though a thousand fall, let not Africa be given up." A thousand and a thousand fell. Africa was not given up. But the human toll of continuing occupancy was appalling.

That picture is still so vividly in our minds, and forms so true a background of the past, that we shall not here seek to heighten its yet unfaded colors.

The indomitably courageous persistence for an ideal which the pioneer African missionaries demonstrated

is a crowded page of evidence against the charge that Christianity has weakened and is losing its driving power. The Christ-impelled efforts of those who first took the gospel to Africa, and the history of the church which arises there to carry on the Christian witness, go to prove the inexhaustible power of applied Christianity.

In the Equatorial Forest of West Africa

Just at the point where the west coast of Africa makes a sharp bend from north to west and curves around the Bight of Biafra only a few miles above the Equator, there lies a part of the great forest area which was marked on old maps as the Cameroons. It has had a checkered political history, and each time it has passed to a different European power its name has acquired a new spelling. In one sense it has been the most governed part of Africa. The first European influence, if not authority, that it knew was British; then it came under the control of Germany as Kamerun, and following the World War most of it passed under a French mandate from the League of Nations, as Cameroun. The narrow northern strip of it running back to Lake Chad is administered as a British mandate once more called the Cameroons. Linguistically, it is as varied as its political background. Beneath its current French one finds German and English remains in the vocabulary of the people—mixed with a variety of African vernaculars.

An interesting fact about Cameroun is that even be-

fore it came under any European commercial influence missionaries had entered. Alfred Saker of the British Baptist Missionary Society, who came in 1845, and Dr. Adolphus C. Good of the American Presbyterian board, and some others, had entered the region earlier than the first colonial administrators. When Dr. Good and Miss Lydia Walker wished to be married in 1883 it was much easier to accept the invitation of the U.S.S. *Quinnebaug's* commander to come on board and sail outside the three-mile limit, there to take their vows on his quarter-deck, than it was to arrange a legal marriage on land.

Fifty years ago no white person had been seen in the region of Elat, a hundred miles from the coast. The people had heard of the "albinos" who had reached the coast, but whence they came none had the slightest idea, writes Mrs. Jewel H. Schwab, of the Presbyterian mission in French Cameroun, to whom the author is indebted for the following sketch of their work. A station was established at the coast, then a second one fifty miles inland at Efulen. Boys were brought in to the simple school that was opened. Later the missionary found opportunities to travel, visiting the people in their villages and telling the words of God to eager listeners and to people he met on the path. He had often to get off his bicycle to satisfy the hungering soul of one and another running after him, begging him to stop and tell one more of the words of God. At places remote from the station he sounded the call drum.

Men carrying their spears, women with babies astride their hips, children of all ages would come streaming in from forest villages. He might begin to teach them a song or a verse of Scripture and find to his amazement that they already knew it. Upon inquiry he would learn that a village boy who had been to the station school had taught them, and that there was already the nucleus of the church-to-be in that vicinity. Thus the church in Cameroun began to grow.

The Elat building, which at that time housed the largest Presbyterian church in the world, was blown down during a severe storm in 1929. It was thought that since branch churches were to be organized in the district it would not be necessary to erect another as large. The new building was to seat four thousand. The Christians contributed all material and work, as is their custom when the buildings are made from materials at hand. Although seven churches were organized in the district and twenty-one centers established where communion was administered, the building proved too small.

In January, 1933, another new church of brick and tile was dedicated at Elat, erected at a cost of $20,000, half of which sum was raised by Africans. On that day, 9,600 adults and 2,500 children attended the services, and 219 persons were received as new members of the Christian community.

Ten years before this beautiful church was built, a young Christian named Mvondô said to a group of his

companions, "O my brothers, our missionary fathers came from across the seas to bring us the Words of God. I was like a corpse, so little did I know of the real things of life, but now I live. You and I must carry this glad news to our brothers who have not yet heard it." Then and there was born the first missionary society of the Presbyterian church in Cameroun. This missionary society and others since organized are supporting their men in the frontier work and sending deputations to visit and encourage their representatives in the outlying regions.

Soon after Batanga, on the coast, was first occupied as a mission station, it became the stated policy of the mission to evangelize southern Cameroun from the western seacoast to the eastern border. One by one advance stations were opened as far east as Foulassi, Metet and Yaunde. Then the longest cast ever attempted by the mission was made in the establishment of Nkol Mvolan station, one hundred and fifty miles beyond the former easternmost position. But there still remained a wide area of unevangelized territory. Another long cast, and the definite aim of nearly fifty years was accomplished. Today Momjepom stands thirty miles from Cameroun's eastern border.

The catechists and village teachers are supported by the African church. The fall in the European price of the produce on which they depend so largely for their income has meant a decrease in church contributions. The African force at four stations agreed to contribute

two or three months' salary in an effort to balance the budget. But even with this splendid sacrifice on the part of the Christian workers, it was necessary in some cases to cut down the force or make a very great reduction in salaries. A quotation from a letter written by one of the young catechists, in reply to a notice of reduction in salary, shows the splendid spirit of many of the faithful workers:

> My fathers, I have seen your letter, and when I finished reading it I knew that we were all in the same trouble. My salary has never been large. I thought my troubles were many. When I read your letter, I turned to my Bible and read where the waves and the storm made the disciples afraid. Jesus came to them, he said, "Be of good cheer, it is I, be not afraid." Even though trouble and hunger come to us, they will finish when Jesus speaks to our hearts. You need not hang your heart up concerning me, I am willing to accept the amount you tell me.

Thus on with Christ's work they go.

In the same mandated territory is the fruitful mission of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. In the adjacent French territory of the Gabun is to be found what is probably the best known station of this society —Lambaréné, on the Ogôwé River, made famous by Du Chaillu and Nassau. Here was first established the "forest hospital" of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, on lands made available by the Paris Society. The new hospital has been built only a few miles away. From this center there has gone into all the world through Dr. Schweit-

zer's books and lectures the story of what the Healing Christ means to people of the forest.

In the Uplands of Southwest Africa

Farther down on the west coast, just south of the Congo River's mouth, is the ancient Portuguese colony of Angola. Here, at Loanda, in 1854, Livingstone performed the difficult feat of rewriting in a matter of weeks a great mass of scientific data and journals of his travels which had been lost by shipwreck off Madeira while in transit to England. In 1880 the American Congregationalists commenced a mission in Bailundo, and in 1885 Bishop Taylor led his first twenty-four American Methodist missionaries ashore at Loanda. In the next eleven years Methodist missionaries and their families numbered ninety-eight persons. Twenty-three died, fifty-three returned home, and only twenty-two were left by 1896.

Because of the cooperation of the former Congregational churches of Canada with the American Board in the Angola mission, the United Church of Canada carries on work in this field and shares with the American Board in the support of the central training institution and the central hospital. The great station at Dondi, three hundred miles inland, illustrates what may be done when the needs of a whole region are approached with large vision and a comprehensive plan.

The station occupies a magnificent tract of nine thousand acres. Each of four hilltops rising from the plateau

is capped with the buildings of an institution: the central mission station; the Currie Institute for young men; the Means School for girls; and the central hospital. The elevation is 5,500 feet above sea level, and the climate is invigorating. Wheat, barley, rye, flax, oats and maize can be grown; likewise peaches, apples, pears, strawberries, and other fruits of the temperate zone, besides, of course, all tropical fruits. Cattle furnish fresh butter and milk. Waterpower runs saw-, wood-working and gristmills. A printing office turns out many books and papers, and an industrial school makes expertly finished furniture.

Finest of all the fine things about Dondi is the fact that in the boarding schools of this four-peaked center there are young men and young women, boys and girls to the number of a thousand and more! In the beautiful sunshine of a Sunday morning, with the air crisp and clean after the frost in the valleys the night before, we stood with the principal of Currie Institute, Dr. John T. Tucker, and a little group of his colleagues, to watch the march-past of that thousand. Two by two they came, seven-year-olds first, sixth-year seminary men last, on their way to church—a church that the Lord himself had smoothed out on the side of a hill, in the shade of his own great trees, for as yet no church made with hands had been erected capable of seating the more than two thousand worshipers who gathered every Lord's Day. Over this great congregation presided a consecrated African pastor, and its service of song was

directed by an African choir master, accompanied by an African organist, and led by a large mixed choir.

The organist played with a technique and an interpretation that was splendid, and the choir sang in Umbundu translation the *Gloria* from the Twelfth Mass and two other equally beautiful selections in a way that lifted our spirits into the vaulted blue above us. Their singing was of equal quality with that of an excellently trained choir at home, but in these circumstances we foreigners were more deeply moved than we would have been by the same music in America. The spiritual exaltation of that Sunday morning hour can never be forgotten. In the midst of such an experience one can scarcely believe that the evangelical community in Angola is less than sixty years old. It now numbers some 260,000 souls.

In the Empire of Ethiopia

When Italy launched her invasion of Ethiopia in the autumn of 1935, "white" civilization and "white" Christianity went on trial in the brains and hearts of hundreds of millions of non-whites throughout the world. Ethiopia proves to be a most dramatic testing ground for other forces besides those of opposing military chiefs.

As never before, the non-white races of the world see before them the actual operation of one of the most shameful processes of so-called civilization—the subjugation and exploitation of a colored people, one of

the very few such populations left thus far unconquered. They know this sort of thing has been done or attempted for hundreds of years. They know also, however, that during the past two decades numerous solemn obligations have been taken and reaffirmed to do no such thing again. Now they see a powerful white nation, which they know as Christian, mass all its power and science and wealth against another Christian nation, but primitive and weak and black. They see one great section of the Christian church holding relatively aloof from effective intervention in the unequal and unjust struggle. They see another large portion of the church active with words and not wholly inactive in deeds yet unavailing in bringing the aggression to a stop. And they ask themselves in their thousands of non-white communities and hundreds of non-white tongues, what these whites, these white Christians, are and mean. If this is Christianity, they conclude, they want none of it. Should we?

From ancient times Coptic Christianity has been the traditional faith of Ethiopia. In the middle of the fourth century A.D., Frumentius made his way from Egypt into Ethiopia, preached Christ, and a little later was made bishop of the country by the patriarch of the Coptic church at Alexandria. Since then the Abuna, the spiritual head of the Coptic church in Ethiopia, has always been a foreigner, usually an Egyptian, appointed from Alexandria. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon dismissed as heretics those who, like the Copts, held

monophysite views, that is, believed in the single nature of Christ rather than the dual. The Copts, however, have held their view to be the correct one and have regarded as heretics rather those who held the opposite —all the rest of Christendom.

There is a visible link with the religion of the Old Testament in Ethiopia's Coptic practices of today. The altar ornaments, arrangement of the churches, festivals, hymns, dances of the priests, all are reminiscent of the Hebraic. Beneath their holy city of Axum they believe is sealed in rock the original Ark of the Covenant, brought from Israel with great skill and courage by the founder of their present dynasty, Menelik I. And they believe that founder to be the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

These influences, dynastic, Hebraic and Christian, have powerfully aided in shaping the fierce, proud, freedom-loving character of the Ethiopians of today.

Three Roman Catholic missions from Italy and France are now at work in Ethiopia. There are some half-dozen Protestant agencies in the country, of which three are from North America. These are supported by the United Presbyterians, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Sudan Interior Mission.[1] These Protes-

[1] According to the latest figures available, the number of their missionaries and their stations is as follows:

	Doctors	*Nurses*	*Others*	*Total*	*Stations*
United Presbyterians	3	4	14	21	3
Seventh Day Adventists.....	3	6	5	14	7
Sudan Interior Mission	4	8	51	63	15

tant mission bodies have, in general, directed their evangelistic efforts to the four or five million pagan peoples of the empire, but their medical and educational ministrations have, of course, been shared by all. Some of their representatives have gained the warmest confidence and most active collaboration of the emperor and his highest officers. Their educational work was so effective that the emperor on his own initiative turned to a United Presbyterian college, Muskingum, at New Concord, Ohio, for his first educational adviser, Dr. Ernest Work. Beginning in 1930, Dr. Work spent nearly three years in Ethiopia as the government's counselor in planning and partially establishing a public school system. Foreign political rivalries clashed so sharply at Addis Ababa even about education, however, that no great progress has been permitted. And since 1935 the only education the government has been able to give its people is how to fight a "civilized" war of defense with "civilized" weapons.

The Protestant missions' medical work has laid foundations for a government medical service now in process of slow building. The Reverend Tom Lambie, M.D., the United Presbyterian pioneer in Ethiopia and now field director of the Sudan Interior Mission, gave up his United States citizenship in 1935 and became a naturalized Ethiopian, the better to identify himself with the nation and people he served. Upon his return to Addis Ababa a few days before the launching of the first Italian attack, he was appointed by the emperor as

the first administrative head of the newly organized Ethiopian Red Cross, with the title of secretary general. Just prior to the outbreak of hostilities, Dr. Robert W. Hockman, youthful and devoted missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, consented to his wife's proceeding to Egypt while he organized at the emperor's request the first Ethiopian Red Cross field unit and led it to the southern front. And there a few weeks later, in a self-forgetful, courageous effort to protect the lives of others, he was killed.

As this book goes to press, Italy claims domination over Ethiopia. The meaning of this step for the future of international politics has been fully discussed in the press by students of world affairs. What it means for the future of the missionary task that we are considering in these pages is a question that the Protestant churches of Europe and America will have to face seriously as the situation matures.

A significant aspect of the position that has been created as a result of Italian aggression is that there apparently exists an understanding between Italy's fascist government and the Vatican concerning the favored position of the Roman Catholic Church in Italian African territories. This relationship, it must be noted, has already contributed to the elimination by Italian pressure of Protestant missions in Eritrea. For some years past no new missionaries have been allowed to enter and furloughed workers have not been allowed to return. In December, 1935, the final departure of

the remaining missionaries was forced by the Italian government. These Swedish Protestants were representatives of a mission that had been in what is now Eritrea for seventy years. They were deported on an Italian steamer and on landing in Italy were treated almost as nationals of a hostile country, and kept under escort until they had been put across the Italian frontier.

A free Ethiopia bombed, gassed and machine-gunned into complete disorganization and annexed to the new "Roman Empire"—is it promised as the exclusive domain of the Roman church? And what of Ethiopia's indigenous and ancient Coptic church?

In and through Ethiopia and the world situation which has gathered around it, the church has a rare chance to demonstrate its sympathy, its universality, its power to remake the life of man and rebuild his society. In the face of world temper today that may seem a superhuman undertaking. If so, it is precisely the kind of task which the religion of Jesus Christ alone can successfully assume. If we believe the church is a divine institution, let us put it squarely at this task which threatens to baffle all human efforts. If none but the Christians of this world determined that the problem should be solved, its solution would be not long in coming. For the spirit of Christ would not admit that force and pride, covetousness and national "face" should rule supreme against justice and humanity, against life itself.

MESSENGERS OF HEALING

What has been said about the Christian enterprise in Cameroun, Angola and Ethiopia by no means covers the scope of the undertakings of the church there and elsewhere, as it extends the influence of Christ over Africa.

Accomplishment in medicine, for example, could fill a book of its own. Into most African communities the missionary doctor or nurse or lay missionary first brought the curative ointment, the healing scalpel, the revealing microscope, the specific drug of modern medicine. The effect of this, directly and indirectly, has been of great importance. Fifty missionary doctors jointly, in the one colony of the Belgian Congo, have brought surgical relief to tens of thousands and medical cures to millions. African bodily suffering has been greatly reduced by medical ministrations.

But the spiritual release has been great, too. Every lancet in a tumor, every needle in a vein, aids the exit of those "spirits" which animism makes Africa believe are the cause of all disease and suffering. Fetishism fades before salvarsan when the latter wipes the ulcers of yaws off the body as though with a magic sponge. Hopelessness and sleeping sickness together yield to injections of tryparsamide. Quinine routs more than the malarial parasite. Modern medicine is one of the great factors in breaking fetishism and releasing from its bondage the soul of the African.

I recall my earliest personal experience of this sort of service rendered by Christian medical units in Africa. It was in 1912, in Liberia. The doctor and nurses of the American Lutheran mission at Muhlenberg were almost the only medical aides the republic had. They had first started their medical work in 1906 and as yet had no proper hospital. But already their skill and devotion were beginning to break down the walls of superstition and fear of evil spirits and to minister to the souls as well as to the racked bodies of their patients. Since then their medical work has grown, not only at the main station but far in the interior, at Zorzor—a place which, when I first visited it in 1913, was so far beyond the ken of government and exploration that we had to move its location considerably upon our map from the estimated position it had long but erroneously held. There the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America now have the only medical work to be found within a radius of four days' walk.

Medical missions has done much in Africa to aid governments by providing philanthropic funds for combating the dangerous endemic and epidemic diseases of the continent, and for improving public health. One of the romances of medical science in Africa is the little known story of the successful experiments of Dr. Louise Pearce twenty years ago, at Leopoldville and in America, as a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. It was largely her work which led to the de-

velopment of tryparsamide, now the most widely used drug against African sleeping sickness, trypanosomiasis —to be distinguished from encephalitis, which is sometimes in America called sleeping sickness.

And another significant contribution has been to demonstrate, through the Christian medical ministry, the love, selflessness and service which lie at the heart of Christianity. No one can compute the power in this. Preaching is essential, teaching is needful; literature must be had. But all those together cannot replace the living of the Christian life as a means of winning friends to Christ. The Christian medical missionary has one of the best opportunities there is for such living.

The American Mission to Lepers has been an increasingly valued aid to medical missions in Africa. Leprosy is found widely throughout the continent. In many places no African attempts at isolation had been made. For years missions and governments found it difficult to introduce isolation and treatment. Recently it is being more successfully done. In 1935 thirty African mission stations received nearly $17,000 from the Mission to Lepers for their work of developing colonies of these suffering people in centers where housing, plots of land and treatment are all available. Self-support from the land and from other suitable activity is the aim. This builds courage and satisfaction in the otherwise despondding heart of the leper, and lengthens the reach of the money grants from abroad to include the treatment of even more lepers.

A NEW VILLAGE LIFE

Another type of missionary service is in the thousands of African villages. Buried in the forest, baked upon the plain, sodden in the marshes or hid within the grass, the village must be sought by anyone who would know and help Africa. The village is the African social unit. Into it has gone a great deal of the Christian effort.

When new territories were being opened, the first visits of the missionaries to hitherto untouched villages were fruitful in arousing the interest of individuals and in drawing a few of them into the station schools. This process was necessary in order to prepare teachers and preachers. As soon as such young men were prepared they returned to the villages and interested others, who in turn went to the station schools and later occupied other villages. In time the trained personnel and the mounting interest in the villages made possible small schools in the villages themselves, then churches, and ultimately in some cases whole Christian communities.

The church has had to deal with the whole range of life within these villages. Often the teacher-evangelist is the only individual in the village with outside contacts. Through him come most of the suggestions and blessings from outside. He preaches the gospel, and suggests how ditches may be dug to drain off stagnant water, to prevent mosquitoes, to reduce malaria. He

teaches reading, and counsels the elders to stabilize the dowry at a reasonable figure, in order to allow somewhat earlier marriages, to reduce immorality, to insure healthier children. One day he rides in from the outside on a bicycle, or comes in carrying a hand-operated sewing machine. He somehow manages to get a phonograph, scratchy though it may be, or some hinges and a lock for a better house with the first wooden door in the village. He makes chairs. His wife and children sit with him at table; they eat together. The fowls from the European eggs the missionaries have given him grow astonishingly and dwarf the native chicks. He brings back a lantern and a bottle of kerosene to feed its wick. A baby is scabby with itch; he cures it with a yellow salve that might be palm oil but isn't.

All these things are new and weightily impressive. They make the teacher-evangelist a power. The success of his material innovations influences the villagers to believe the truth of his preaching. When he talks of doing a day's journey in an hour and does it—on a bicycle—his witnesses are more likely to believe him when he talks of the journey of life. When he cures a repulsively marked baby of the itch, a baby not his own or even of his family, the onlookers are disposed to believe and understand him when he preaches a surprising gospel of love.

Into the villages Christ has gone. Amongst the villagers he is made known. And out of the village comes the typical African Christian, changed in face, in mind,

in soul—thousands upon thousands of the redeemed of Africa.

One such teacher-evangelist whom many of us in the Congo have known intimately is Njoji, born into a powerful Bolenge family from which had come a succession of witch doctors and chiefs. He was not much interested as a boy in the mission work being conducted by the Disciples of Christ right in his village. The story is told that it was because a little friend rather forced up Njoji's hand in a group one day when the missionary was asking who wished to be enrolled as an "inquirer" after the Christian truth, that he got himself listed as such. He was faithful in his study of Christianity and the result was his conversion. He was drawn into teaching and then into evangelistic work.

When death claimed the head of his family, who was the community's leading witch doctor, Njoji was expected to take his place. But Njoji was now Marc Njoji, the Christian evangelist. He declined the family's hereditary succession. The tribe was in unexampled turmoil. Such refusal was unheard of. The tribal powers were massed to circumvent it and compel Njoji's acceptance. He was firm. He was a Christian, a teacher, an evangelist, and as such renounced all power, place and prestige which was his by the old law. He proposed to live under the new. The oldsters of the tribe were aghast. The youngsters looked wonderingly on, to see what this epochal break might mean for the life of the tribe and for them.

It has meant this: that many of them are now Marc Njoji's Christian aides in establishing a new religion in their tribe; that Marc Njoji, who could have been the most powerful witch doctor in their midst, is now more powerful as a minister; that the lives of thousands of their tribal fellows have been transformed; and that the name "Bolenge" throughout hundreds of villages in the Congo and among a million Christians in America stands for a marvelous victory for Christ in the hearts of present-day men and women.

I have had a number of experiences in Africa that have brought new strength and inspiration. None is more precious than the memory of that Sunday morning in 1919 when, before hundreds of Marc Njoji's family and tribe and friends gathered in the Bolenge church, my hand rested with that of my senior and beloved colleague, the Reverend Andrew F. Hensey, upon the head of our kneeling friend Njoji as he was set apart and formally charged as the first ordained African pastor of the Disciples of Christ in Africa.

A CHRISTIAN SCHOOL FOR AFRICAN GIRLS

African women are rather more tenacious of the old and resistant to the new than the men. The patience and persistence required to win them into new paths is correspondingly greater. Year after year, for half a dozen years, Mabel Shaw knew that her African girls in the Christian girls' boarding school at Mbereshi, in Northern Rhodesia, were slipping out to the forest again

and yet again to follow certain old tribal, magical rites which a hundred generations had decreed for them. With a restraint as admirable as its results were splendid, she said no word in all that time to let the girls know she knew, or to chide or to forbid. Year after year the daily teaching continued of Christ's way in Christ's village of Christ's tribe.

And then one day a chosen deputation of girls waited upon her.

They had come, they said, to tell her that for years they had been secretly carrying on certain old tribal practices which they knew didn't square with Christ's teaching, and they now wanted to confess and to say they were stopping the practices.

"But I knew you were doing it," said Miss Shaw.

"What! All those years?" exclaimed the girls. "Aren't those things wrong?"

"Yes," said Miss Shaw.

"Then why didn't you tell us so and stop us?"

"It's better that Jesus working in your own hearts should guide you to the right," replied their teacher.

As the teacher told me again that story which I already knew through her writings, we were seated in the midst of the school compound where hundreds of girls had found their way lighted into the life of the tribe of Christ. There was borne in upon me anew the sense of Christ's amazing power of illumination in any heart that will open itself. *God's Candlelights*, Miss Shaw calls her latest book on the school at Mbereshi. A

palpable understatement, that title, with the consequent strength of understatement. What one sees at Christian power stations in Africa like Mbereshi are the dazzling rays of Christ's love flashing into the darkest recesses of need and sin wherever a human heart gives access.

AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH

An objective of the missionary effort in Africa is to establish an African Christian church. It is not always the oldest mission which appears to have made the most progress toward this goal. Many factors influence the rate of advance: form of ecclesiastical control of the home church and the mission, educational standards, government attitude, tribal and personal characteristics of the African Christians, relation of foreign money to evangelistic endeavor, economic conditions in the area, and others. But whatever the rate, the goal is the same. And it has been attained here and there.

For many years not a cent of foreign money has been appropriated by the Christian and Missionary Alliance for the evangelistic work of its mission near the mouth of the Congo River. Should we be surprised, therefore, that the church which this mission came to establish should be the first in the Congo to become formally self-governing as well as self-supporting and self-propagating? Relatively early for a Congo church it was doing unusual things. One recalls the time, some years ago, when it found it necessary to repair its largest church building, at Boma, then the capital of the Bel-

gian Congo. Some twenty thousand francs were raised. But so much volunteer labor was forthcoming and so many other economies were made that over two thousand francs were left when the repairs were completed. The church thereupon decided that it would not use that remainder on itself. It voted to divide the sum equally and to send more than a thousand francs to Belgium to aid the spread of evangelical Christianity there, and a like amount to America for work among the Jews in New York City.

In 1931 self-government was definitely embodied in the simple written constitution of the church, and the foreign missionaries became merely members of their local congregations, brethren and advisers of the Congo Christians, who were elected to the several administrative and ministerial offices of the church.

Transition periods in human relationships are usually difficult, and this fact reinforces the conservatism of human nature to resist change—if indeed that conservatism does not make the difficulties! Missions in Africa have been generally conservative in the matter of sharing governing responsibility with the indigenous churches. Immaturity, inexperience, mistakes and reversion are among the things feared by missionaries. These dangers are real.

But the social and economic progress already made by many of the African peoples, and the competent acceptance of Christian responsibilities and church leadership in such regions as Uganda and the west coast, are

clear signs that missions must prepare for a more rapid devolution upon Africans of the spiritual offices and organizational duties of the church. There is a lesson to be learned from other mission fields, that this placing of adequate responsibility upon the African church should come voluntarily and well before the winds of nationalism and racialism sweep the continent. Thus the church would have set an example for that era when it comes, valuable for other agencies then dealing with African relationships; and it would have avoided some regrettable bitterness elsewhere experienced.

The story of a boy from lower Congoland will make clearer possibly than argument what kind of Christian leader we may expect the African church to raise up.

"FOR FAITHFULNESS AND LONG SERVICE"

Kikwakwa and his bosom pal, Bangu, were only small lads when a white man came into their district and began to build across the stream from their little home village. There was much speculation among the elders of the town and on down to the children as to whether this was a spirit who came through the waters. They had been taught that white spirits lived chiefly in water and were most to be feared because they would "eat" the spirits of persons who did not carry powerful fetishes for protection. Kikwakwa's mother was a witch doctor and the fetishes that she made were much sought by the tribe. Into each fetish she would call a spirit to meet the need of the particular person applying to her.

She warned the boys to have nothing to do with the white man.

But curiosity consumed them, especially when they heard that he was teaching out of a "book" where were to be seen funny crooked marks that could speak for themselves. The boys determined to go, but decided not to look this white spirit straight in the eyes lest he bewitch them.

They went and saw and heard many strange things. They returned day after day. The Book finally began to speak to them and in place of a god whom they had always feared, they came to know a God of love, the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The day came when there was to be the first baptism in this part of the country. Kikwakwa and Bangu, boys though they were, made their decision and asked for baptism. Then came the opposition from parents and townsmen.

"You will surely die," they were told, "for the spirits that live in the water will eat you."

But the boys kept to their decision, albeit with fear and trembling. Perhaps when we remember how we avoid thirteen and Fridays, and think of the not-so-remote popularity of the rabbit's foot, and of some of our other remaining superstitions, we will have a faint understanding of what had been going on in the minds of these fetish-steeped African lads. Summoning their courage they made a compact. Whoever went into the stream first for baptism would keep his eyes open under

the water and if he saw any sign of the evil spirit, he would warn the other.

It happened that Kikwakwa was first called and dauntlessly he descended the bank to the arms of the waiting teacher. As he arose from the water of baptism his face was resplendent and he signaled his chum with "It's all right, Bangu."

Decades passed. Those Congo boys filled the years full of tireless labors. They became teachers and evangelists aflame with the love of Christ. Kikwakwa won his witch doctor mother to Christ.

It was half across the fourth decade of his service years that we met him on the trail and in that meeting found a great traveling companion on the Way. It was this small-statured, big-souled African who welcomed us and initiated us into our new home life in Leopoldville when we were sent to that capital city of the Belgian Congo. The American Baptist mission generously offered a corner of its river site, beautifully shaded by palm and mango, for the new secretariat of the Congo Protestant Council. There were then no foreign missionaries on this Baptist station and we found Kikwakwa with his faithful wife, Elizabeth, and their family, carrying full responsibility in that important center. Then a city of some three thousand whites and forty thousand Africans representing scores of tribes and languages, Leopoldville was indeed not an easy place for a son of the Congo to preach and live the gospel, shepherd a large and scattered flock, and carry responsibility

for the valuable buildings and grounds of a foreign mission. Service in the peace of his own villages was inviting and would have been easier. But through the years Kikwakwa remained true to his charge, and when we joined him he won our hearts at once by his obvious dependability, his perseverance and his many thoughtful kindnesses.

Years of service we enjoyed in close fellowship with this man. The Baptist work was enlarged in the capital city and a staff of American workers came to aid in meeting the tremendous opportunity that opened there.

One day a letter came to the mission announcing that Mose Kikwakwa had been chosen as one of the men of the Congo to be honored and decorated by the Belgian government for his long and outstanding service of cooperation with those forces of religion, government and commerce making for the advancement of the colony. To him was to be given also a gift of one hundred and fifty francs from a legacy left by a Belgian lady to encourage monogamy in the Congo by the granting of such sums to monogamous families with four or more children.

The ceremony took place on one of Belgium's great national days. The white-plumed helmet of the governor general dominated the reviewing stand. Cannon boomed, the band played, the troops went swinging by, and then the dense crowd of Leopoldville's population, black and white, quieted to watch a small group of the Congo's sons and daughters slowly draw near the re-

viewing stand where the governor general called them one by one.

On Mose Kikwakwa he pinned a medal bearing the figure of King Albert and the French inscription, "For faithfulness and long service." In his hand he placed an envelope.

The colorful ceremony finished, we returned across the city to the mission. Kikwakwa was not far behind. His steps took him directly to the mission office. He laid fifty francs upon the desk.

"God has been wonderfully good to me," he said. "All these years as I've served him I never dreamed of such honor in this world. I don't know how to thank him enough. I want to share my joy with my Congo fellow men. I want this offering to go to help tell others the message that has brought such joy to me."

Even so brief and incomplete a treatment as this is of the planting of the church in Africa cannot be closed without reference to two further matters: the work of translating and circulating the Bible and the service of American Negro missionaries.

GIVING THE BIBLE TO AFRICA

When the British and Foreign Bible Society was organized in 1804, the only African languages into which the Bible had been rendered were the Coptic of Egypt and the Ethiopic of Abyssinia, plus some verses in

Fanti of the Gold Coast. By the end of 1935 the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Bible Society, the National Bible Society of Scotland and others had provided the Bible, the New Testament or at least one complete Gospel in three hundred and two African tongues, out of the total of nine hundred and eighty-seven languages of the world's peoples into which the Bible has been translated.

The gifts of faithful supporters have enabled the Bible societies to do not only this, but to distribute the Word throughout Africa at prices oftentimes far below cost, and at all times closely related to the African's buying power in the various areas. More than a million copies of the Bible or of Bible portions have been sold in Africa, and it is the most widely owned and read book on the continent. For thousands of Africans the Bible is the only book they possess and read, and it exerts upon the life of the continent the most profound influence of any printed text. It has yet another result: it gives evangelical Christianity an enormous authority and sure foundation in the mind of the African. He works it out something like this: The Bible is the word of God. All foreign Christians agree that it is, and all say their teaching is founded on it, but only the Protestants give us the Bible. We can get it from every mission station and from every missionary of theirs. And when they preach and teach we can follow them in Scripture. We see that what they preach is the word of God.

The labor and romance in this task of Bible translation for Africa is strikingly told in the little volume by the Reverend Edwin W. Smith, entitled, *The Shrine of a People's Soul.* The large illuminated world globe and the Africa exhibit in the New York offices of the American Bible Society give visitors a vivid impression of the work.

NEGRO MISSIONARIES FROM AMERICA

One of the important questions before the mission authorities today is that regarding the policy of appointing Negro Christians from America as missionaries. The proposition that properly qualified nationals are the best missionaries to their own people would probably meet with but little dissent. That qualified Africans are by far the best evangelists and teachers for Africans follows, not solely by logic but also by experience. Why, then, have not more Africans of American birth seen service as African missionaries?

The answer is not in one word. We may not know the whole answer. But certain elements in the problem are available for discussion.

The American Negro churches, while large, have not had great sums for missionary work abroad. Their expeditionary forces have therefore been relatively small. The facilities for, and standards of, preparation have not always been first class. The field results have been sometimes adversely affected by this. Sectarian differences between Negro denominations have been rela-

tively greater than between a similar group of leading white churches, and Negro interdenominational cooperation has been less, in foreign missions as in other matters. Much beneficial interchange of experience and methods has thus been lost. These elements are at least a partial explanation of why American Negro missionaries of Negro churches have not labored more widely in Africa.

Nor have American churches with a predominantly or exclusively white membership sent Africa many Negro missionaries. Why is this? Every church would have certain reasons of its own, but it may be possible to pick out four or five factors which have rather general application in the matter.

One of them we have already named above. The inadequacy, worse yesterday than today, of educational facilities for Negro youth in the United States has resulted in a relatively small supply of trained men and women of the standard required for foreign service.

The openings and demand for Negro leadership of the highest type in Negro undertakings in America have opened compelling vistas of home service for a large percentage of the best Negro youth and have tended still further to restrict the numbers available for service abroad.

In the so-called "white" denominations having a small Negro membership, the leadership in the local congregations, and nationally in the foreign missions enterprise, is almost entirely white. It is but natural

that maximum enthusiasm and support should be directed toward sending local white young men and women as missionaries.

What have been regarded as missionary failures in personnel have been thought, rightly or wrongly, to have had a higher ratio among colored workers than among whites. Among the reasons for this are:

1. The relative size of the two groups is very different. There are thousands in the white group; scores in the colored. One unit of failure in the latter bulks disproportionately large.

2. The standards of preparation have been oftentimes unequal.

3. The Negro missionary has usually had to labor alongside a predominantly white station staff. This has meant not only his adjustment to Africa, but what is in some ways harder, adjustment to a new kind of close relationship with whites as coworkers and as members of the same social group.

4. The Negro missionary's special qualifications for African missionary service may be considered to be his quickened understanding of African backgrounds, processes and aspirations, and his potentialities as a guide to help Africa from its past into its future. To do this he ought to be free, after proper study and experience in Africa, to use methods and approaches of his own growing out of these special qualifications. But what has occurred in all too many cases is that the colored missionary has not only been in a small minority in a white

station but, like all new or minority missionaries, has been expected to use missionary methods already worked out—by white people. Not only are his special potentialities thus thwarted, but there develops in him a sense of disagreement with things as they are being done which, if voiced, brings criticism upon him, and if repressed, sets up stresses within himself. Such repression may easily lead to a "failure" which may be attributed to other reasons.

5. Unattractive personalities and unwise actions when associated with a black skin are more than likely to be charged by a predominantly white group to the race rather than to the individual. Thus if a Negro, N, and a white man, W, are equally hard to get along with, or equally lack force and balance and initiative, the verdict of white people is rather likely to be, about N, "No, *colored missionaries* are not very successful," but concerning W, "Yes, *W* leaves much to be desired." By charging W's failure to W and N's failure to the Negro race we have responded to the old tribal instinct of shielding our own group and being much less than fair to the other.

6. Ugly and fearful, the specter of race prejudice still stalks in the church. Banned officially, it skulks in darkened corners of our hearts. If it grows weaker year by year, as we hope, it nevertheless has been and is powerful enough to affect church practice in the matter of Negro American missionaries.

Another barrier raised in some places in Africa against

American Negro missionaries, for which neither the white nor the Negro church is responsible, is the uneasiness of governments in certain colonies concerning the racial and political doctrines of American Negroes.

In Africa, many colonial officials' chief source of information about currents of American Negro life is the public press. In the latter, the unusual and exceptional is news. In Africa, American dailies and periodicals are not in general circulation. American news then comes not first- but second- and even third-hand, often translated through one or more foreign languages, with most background eliminated to reduce telegraph tolls. Inevitably the sensational is accentuated to stimulate circulation.

Hence it is that many an administrator in Africa, particularly but not exclusively among those whose mother tongue is other than English, believes that all American Negroes are Garveyites, that pan-Africanism is one of their major concerns, that communism claims them by the million, that dangerously emotional religious vagaries are their usual style, that their attitude is predominantly anti-white and that, as a consequence of all this, they are not exactly desirable fellow residents and colaborers in Africa.

Three things at least should be done about this:

1. The very telling facts about Negro progress and spirit in America should be made available widely to Europeans in Africa.

2. The best known and most highly respected Amer-

ican missions established in those areas of Africa where governmental attitudes are uncertain should introduce colored workers into their staffs, or increase their number if some are already present.

3. The outstanding work of colored missionaries in Africa should be made known to European officials.

In this connection a special word about Liberia is necessary. Officials elsewhere are inclined to regard the accomplishments of colored American missionaries in that country as a special case which could not usefully be compared with what is done by such workers in European-governed territory. I want here to pay a well deserved tribute, however, to colored American missionary achievements in the Negro republic. It was my fortune to serve in Liberia before the World War as a youthful fellow laborer in another mission with Bishop Isaiah B. Scott, of the Methodist Episcopal mission, and Bishop S. D. Ferguson, of the Protestant Episcopal mission, and to be associated with other notable Americans of their race then serving in that land. Their patience, integrity, capacity and devotion laid foundations upon which the increasingly successful work of today is building.

Bishop Ferguson was the first Negro to be made a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The year of his consecration was 1885 and he served until his death in 1916. Since then the missionary bishops have been white, but they have been assisted by the Right Reverend T. M. Gardiner, a Liberian of the Vai people, who

was consecrated suffragan in 1921. Most of the clergy are Liberians, and the work has had significant and helpful extension into the interior. The Order of the Holy Cross has notably aided in this since 1922, when it entered Liberia as its first field of service abroad. Medical, educational, seminary and some industrial training is given by the mission.

But outside Liberia effective Negro missionary work has also been done. In recent years I have been a visitor on more than one occasion to three African mission stations of predominantly white churches where colored missionaries labor, one in the Congo and two in Angola.

At Mutoto, the southern Presbyterians have what is in some respects the largest mission station in the Congo. A full word-picture of its work would be of value, for it combines within itself much of the whole program of modern missions in Africa. There one finds agricultural and industrial training well done, a heartening outstation work, successful schooling of girls and women, an excellent boys' boarding school, the Morrison Bible School which in its seminary training of evangelists is not excelled in the Congo, and one of the best mission hospitals in the colony. But I may be allowed to speak more especially of the two colored families on the staff. The Reverend and Mrs. A. A. Rochester are West Indians, the Reverend and Mrs. A. L. Edmiston are Americans. All teach—everybody seems to do so on that station—and Mr. Rochester carries a full share of the evangelistic work. He is an itinerating missionary,

traveling and preaching and teaching among the villages, widely and frequently. Mrs. Edmiston has compiled a grammar of the Bakuba language. Mr. Edmiston has written a Baluba manual of agriculture and has one of the best organized teaching and demonstrating programs of land use of which I know. Both families are among the senior members of the mission in point of service, honored by their colleagues and the Europeans of their acquaintance, and have in unusual measure the confidence and response of Africans of all ages.

In Angola, the oldest station of the American Congregationalists is Bailundo, opened in 1880. The missionaries in charge of this historic and fruitful work are the Reverend and Mrs. Daniel Hastings, who are West Indian Negroes. They and their white Bailundo colleagues have a unity and a joint effectiveness of high order. One is tempted to tell of some of the minor but pleasing and useful side efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Hastings—of the hundreds of rose bushes, beautifully flowering at one side of their house, and the three thousand banana trees on the other side, of more varieties than one dreamed existed, roses and bananas alike being shared lavishly with neighboring Africans, European traders and government officials. It is small wonder that such skill in gardening and generosity in sharing should win high esteem throughout the whole countryside, when coupled with other qualities which produced those two. Mr. Hastings commands in a rare degree the respect and confidence of all four elements with whom

a missionary is associated in Africa: the Africans, his missionary colleagues, the European commercial people, and the government officials. From an audience with the provincial government head, where he was given by that high Portuguese official the embrace of greeting characterizing warm friendship, Mr. Hastings conducted us to the stockaded court of the venerable African king of Bailundo. There he was received with those equivalent marks of African respect which unmistakably established for the onlooker the high position he held in the esteem of this once powerful African royalty.

The other station in Angola is Galangue—Congregational—which I visited in 1930 with Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. A subsequent visit confirmed the fine impression which this station made upon me.

Incorporated administratively into the body of an American mission whose staff and constituency are predominantly white, and linked to that mission just as all its other stations are, Galangue is a post that has been selected, planned, constructed and staffed from its inception in 1922 by an all-Negro staff from America. And lest that phrase "all-Negro staff" should give our readers the impression of numerous active young colored missionaries bustling about this splendid new plant, we must haste to say that the "all" was only two for two years and four thereafter: the Reverend and Mrs.

Henry C. McDowell at the start, reinforced later by the Reverend and Mrs. Samuel B. Coles. Since the visits referred to, a physician and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Aaron M. McMillan, have been added to the staff, and Mr. and Mrs. Coles have been temporarily loaned to Liberia.

There are several remarkable things about Galangue, some to be seen visually, and others only to be discerned with a glad and understanding heart. The latter are more important but of the former we speak first.

On January 15, 1922, nothing existed at Galangue but virgin trees upon a virgin plain—and the dusty footprints of the committee of missionaries led by Mr. McDowell which had selected it the year before as the site for a new venture in faith and achievement. On that day Mr. and Mrs. McDowell and a small handful of trained Native helpers from the other stations arrived and started to work. The new station was twenty-five miles from the nearest government post, bearing the same name, and one hundred miles from the nearest Congregational station, Dondi. It was in untouched territory, among people thought to be but slowly responsive. As an embryo station it had about $1,100 for its annual expense budget, and after five or six years this was increased to $1,600. Its only other resources were a few thousand dollars promised for buildings; plus promises of support from the twenty thousand colored members of Congregational churches in America; plus the devotion and ability of Mr. and

Mrs. McDowell, who had already shown themselves invaluable in their time of preparatory work at other stations; plus the fullest and most sympathetic spirit of cooperation from all the other stations and missionaries and church members of the mission.

By 1930, a broad station compound had been laid out, with squares, circles, avenues and paths; some thirty permanent buildings had been built in brick and cement, with tile floors and artistic red tile roofs, every one of them; a boarding school with some three hundred boys and girls in residence had been built up, the dormitories being fully equipped with substantial and uniform beds, lockers, tables and chairs, all locally made. Medical work was being cared for by the missionary couple, and among the auxiliary tasks one recalls the operation of a power mill where a good many tons of maize were ground into flour every year for the school and for the ever growing number of villages wishing to be thus served; a garage, a blacksmith shop, and seed testing and storing service. There was a brickyard and a tileyard on the outskirts of the station. Overshot and undershot water wheels were operating pug mills, and plans for a dam and hydro-electric power were maturing.

About two hundred and fifty acres of land had been entirely cleared of trees, roots and rocks and actually put into cultivation by tractor or oxen; to accomplish it with oxen had meant long work in training local cattle which had never before known the yoke—and it

had meant finding and seasoning suitable wood and making the yokes, too, besides training drivers to handle the newly formed ox-teams. Streams running through the valleys had been straightened and walled up, and some fifteen miles of open and blind ditching had been done to drain extensive lowlands where the oldest Natives had confidently said no crops had ever been or ever could be raised—and lo, the crops were bumper! Eighty acres or so of woodland had been enclosed with hog-tight fences of native materials, and pigs and sheep and goats were multiplying in these safe and fertile pastures. Elsewhere herds of cattle were being built up, with an eye to their beef and dairy value to an impoverished Native community.

Within eight years some ten carefully selected out-stations had been established, every one with church, school and teachers' residences. There were two or three trained Christian leaders at each of the out-stations, systematically working the villages round about. And each out-station was headquarters for a farm demonstrator, trained at Galangue in some of the rudiments of scientific farming and available as adviser and demonstrator to any Native within the area of that out-station. At the time of my visit these ten demonstrators were supervised by three traveling farm agents, who worked out of Galangue all over its field. The total Christian community in the Galangue field was estimated at a thousand. A number of other requests from villages for out-station establishments were to be met as soon

as the properly trained men and women were available.

The school building at the station, almost a replica of one lately built at the missionaries' alma mater in America, is reputed the largest in Angola. Materially, the whole station is solid, lasting, esthetically satisfying.

We believe the spiritual and social results here are and will continue to be unusually fine and encouraging. Even in so short a visit, and across a language barrier, the writer felt a rare atmosphere of confidence, association, cooperation and happy comradeship between the staff and Natives. Galangue stands as an undertaking which should be examined at first hand by any person, missionary or other, seeking to understand and evaluate the missionary enterprise in Africa.

As one reflects upon African experience, the feeling grows that new, qualified, American Negro missionaries are not only needed in Africa, but that they have within them potentialities of unusual, in some ways unique, value for Africa and the church.

FACING THE FUTURE TOGETHER

The visit to Africa in 1934 of Dr. John R. Mott, chairman of the International Missionary Council, was the occasion for a series of important conferences throughout the southern and central parts of the continent.[1]

In South Africa, the whole range of difficult social,

[1] Excerpts from the findings of these conferences will be found in the Appendix, pp. 198-206.

economic and racial problems as they affect and are affected by the church was brought up for frankest discussion. The ninety-eight European and African representatives attending the final South Africa conference at Bloemfontein blazed some new trails in evangelistic, educational and cooperative recommendations.

In Southern Rhodesia, and then in Northern, Dr. Mott held other conferences of great significance in their united facing of problems linked with the future of the church.

Four conferences of African and European Christians were held at different points in the Congo, the last two meetings being in Leopoldville. A dozen advance steps were approved, a number of which have since been taken.

Education presents to Protestants a peculiarly heavy burden in the Congo because of the government's pro-Catholic policy, previously discussed. The Congo conferences faced this difficult question and formulated a number of important educational recommendations. Of these, two were of special urgency: the securing of an educational adviser and the establishment of regional union normal schools.

One such school is already in operation, at Kimpese, in the western Congo. Other neighboring missions are being invited to join in strengthening and enlarging this institution. A second school is suggested for the area along the upper Congo River, and a third for the southern Congo. This latter might serve the northern and

southern Methodist missions, the southern Presbyterian, the Mennonite and other missions in the Kasai, Sankuru and Katanga areas. A plan has been worked out for establishing this important school, and a site is tentatively selected. But so far funds are lacking.

The proposal for an educational adviser finds itself in the same circumstance. An educationist experienced in the Congo has been nominated for the post, and arrangements are made for him to complete work leading to a doctorate in education in one of America's leading universities. But no funds are in sight for underwriting this most important project of educational cooperation.

The educational discussions in the Congo conferences were given added fruitfulness by reason of the presence with Dr. Mott of Dr. Robert M. Hopkins, general secretary of the World's Sunday School Association, with whom the Congo Protestant Council had been in correspondence for a long period on the subject of improved and organized religious education in the Congo. Negro Africa has been one of the few blank areas upon the affiliation map of the World's Sunday School Association. As a result of Dr. Hopkin's journey in 1934 there are increased possibilities of cooperation here in this vital part of the Christian task.

A large confidence in the African church of the future which is developing out of the African missions of the past, may be found in a further action growing out of the Congo conferences of 1934. The Protestant groups

in the Congo have adopted for the church they are helping to build a single name, *L'Eglise du Christ au Congo* (Church of Christ in the Congo). In that action, and in the formative years behind it, lies an inspiring story of missionary understanding, love, cooperation and victory—"that they all may be one."

Missions to Africans?

They have been heroic and romantic and picturesque, and have combined within themselves many of the appealing qualities of the continent to which they went.

But they have been far more than that.

They have been the bearer of the greatest element of hope and heart satisfaction which the African in his present bewildering turmoil possesses—Christianity.

They have demonstrated again to the world the marvelous transforming power of Christ in human life.

They have shown in many ways and places a unity which is full of hope for the future of the church in Africa and in the world.

They, and the churches arising from their work, are based on principles which furnish the only means known of bringing Africa helpfully and cooperatively into the complex life of the world.

VI: The African Church of Tomorrow

THE CHURCH IS PLANTED IN AFRICA. THE CHURCH IS growing. Is, therefore, comprehensive aid from abroad still required? Are there needs of the African church which demand attention from the Christian people of North America? Are there special emphases to be put and fruitful results to be expected? We believe so.

First and foremost would we voice the urge for continued advance in Christian cooperation on the part of home churches and African missions. This is vital—and we mean *advance*. It is not enough merely to retain the present lines of cooperation. Those lines have fully proved their worth and certainly should not be abandoned. But they are now strong enough to serve as the base for a new advance which, after consolidation a few years hence, can in turn become the base for a new advance and ever a new one, in extending Christ's kingdom in the hearts of Africans throughout the continent.

Cooperation is a many-sided subject, and students of the Christian world task recognize now, as never before, how seriously it must be considered through the coming years. Let us look at three of its major aspects:

cooperation among foreign missionary bodies in Africa; between missionaries and African Christians; and among Christian missionary agencies at their home base in North America.

MISSIONARIES WORKING TOGETHER IN AFRICA

Africa has already produced diamonds of the first water not only in carbon but in Christian cooperation. From the very start of Christian missions as they were first planted in the coastal areas, the stations of all agencies, representing all creeds and shades of creeds, have heartily joined their efforts to speed successive groups of later missionaries on their travels farther and farther into the interior. The history of transport, of the sharing of geographical information and counsel, of nursing and rescue, of keeping the lines open in every way for the brave thin forces inland is a splendid one.

Once an area had been occupied by several Christian bodies, there nearly always developed a plan for periodical conferences, when their representatives from widely separated points, perhaps traveling under dangers and difficulties, would foregather to consult and plan about the common task.

Out of such a conference would come an *ad interim* committee with voluntary officers to carry out common plans between meetings and circulate information. Then would arise the necessity for a definitive permanent organization with a supported officer and standing committees. And somewhere in the process would come a

union school here, a joint medical center there, a union hostel, a joint treasurership, a general educational adviser, and other manifestations of the desire and practicability of cooperation.

Nowhere in Africa has cooperative advance been more marked than in the Belgian Congo. Here is to be found the oldest implemented cooperation in Africa. Here the first general missionary conference for a whole African area was held in 1902. The world's first field continuation committee on the plan recommended by the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 was formed in the Congo the following year. A union quarterly, the *Congo Mission News*, was established in 1912. The Union Mission House, erected at Leopoldville in 1921, is referred to later in this chapter. Protestant interests set up an office in Brussels in 1922, with Dr. Henri Anet as *agent de liaison* between the Congo missions and the Belgian government. The Congo Continuation Committee was reorganized into a Congo Protestant Council in 1925, with wider membership and larger commitments. A proposal originating in the Congo for a mid-Africa missionary conference grew into a large and important gathering on African missions and education at Le Zoute, Belgium, in 1926. The Congo Jubilee and West Africa Conference was held at Leopoldville in 1928 with two hundred missionaries present. A year later the Congo Protestant Council established in that city a permanent residence and office with a full-time secretary. In 1933 *L'Evangile en Afrique*, a bi-monthly union re-

ligious publication for French-speaking Africans anywhere, was first issued from the Council's office. As described in the previous chapter, in 1934 Dr. John R. Mott presided over four interdenominational conferences of the greatest significance for all religious work in that colony. In 1935 the name, Church of Christ in the Congo, recommended during these conferences, was adopted by missions and churches for the whole growing, evangelical church. In 1935 a union bookshop, capable of serving as a general buying agency for all Congo missions so desiring, was established at Leopoldville.

In the Congo occurred what must be one of the happiest instances on record of missionary cooperation. The southern Presbyterian church had established work in the Kasai area, among the Baluba people, in 1890, under the pioneer leadership of Samuel N. Lapsley, a white Alabamian, and William H. Sheppard, a colored Virginian. It had prospered and expanded until it touched the large Batetela tribe on the north. Faced with great tasks elsewhere, it felt unable to undertake adequate work with that tribe. In Nashville, the American headquarters city of its foreign mission work, was a sister agency, the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was willing to undertake work in Africa, and the need and opportunity among the Batetela was presented to it.

The southern Methodists commissioned Bishop William R. Lambuth and Professor John W. Gilbert, of

the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, to proceed to the Congo. The year 1911 was spent in travel and study, and twelve months later the two returned to America. In 1914 the bishop and a party of six missionaries reached the Congo, where they found that sixteen African Christians of the southern Presbyterian mission had volunteered to leave their own homes and go as Native helpers and missionaries with the incoming Methodist party. Heartily assisted by these African aides and by missionaries of the southern Presbyterian church, the Methodist work was established at Wembo Nyama, and the work of evangelization and education of the primitive Batetela was begun. And, in the years since, that splendid spirit of cooperation and mutual helpfulness between the two neighbor missions has steadily grown.

In South Africa, the Rhodesias, Angola and Portuguese East Africa, in Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone and elsewhere, cooperative committees and councils are enthusiastically at work. May it not be true that in the immensity of the task, the immediacy of the need and the paucity of our numbers, there is in Africa a situation specially conducive to unity?

On the basis of progress already made, there is special need for cooperative advance at the following points:

1. The widespread use of a single name for the African evangelical church.
2. Progressive steps toward a larger unity among the African churches.

3. Joint administration of missionary work in large contiguous areas, beginning with the fiscal, educational and medical forces.
4. Intensified collaboration in production of literature, including text preparation, translations, publication in consolidated and improved printing offices, and distribution through central union book shops.
5. Concerted, planned study of African life and customs, and of all methods of relating the church profitably to them.

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AND AFRICAN CHRISTIANS WORKING TOGETHER

Cooperation is not enough if it is only among foreign missionaries in Africa. Missionaries must cooperate with Africans. Would you believe how really hard that is!

There is usually a wide cultural difference between the missionaries and most of the Africans they meet. This strengthens the foreigner's instinctive feeling that his wisdom is superior to that of the African. When there is added to that a general outward black deference to white (at least in the latter's presence) which is compounded of innate politeness, some awe, a defense mechanism and some degree of flattery, it becomes difficult for a white missionary really to cooperate with present-day Africans.

Sometimes, too, when cooperation with Africans is thought to be achieved, what is really occurring is

a sort of intellectual pumping. It is felt quite rightly that we do not comprehend adequately the African's mental background and spiritual processes. So we "co-operate" by getting him to tell us of these, that *we* may make a careful study of their unknown qualities and so contrive a better "approach" to the "African problem."

It is a curious interpretation of cooperation which assumes that the African need do no more than accept whatever the greater wisdom of foreigners decides is best for him. Obviously, that is not cooperation. It is, rather, a more or less benevolent cultural dictatorship. In the past, throughout all of the Africa we are discussing, there was no physical difficulty in imposing such a régime, for the strength of white occupation and the prestige of white authority made it easy. From the African side, great mental and spiritual difficulties arose from submission to such a system. But Africa was largely inarticulate about most of its problems, and especially so regarding its inner and spiritual self. Or, if it became vocal, it was in some eight hundred languages—and our receiving sets in those years were not attuned to the low short waves of African murmurings.

A change has occurred. Even amateurs get African short waves now. That is a literal fact, and figuratively it illustrates a truth of vast importance. Africa is "coming through." Its voice, speaking beautiful French or English or Portuguese, or German or Spanish or Italian, as well as its own African vernacular, is being

heard. Africans are presented to the world abroad by means of the radio, pulpit, forum, books, magazines and daily papers, and they travel and speak for themselves, effectively and constructively. The moving picture screen brings them before all nations. Sketchy, crude and unreal as the presentation to the outer world sometimes remains, the voice and personality of Africa are being projected across the nations. Merely by learning foreign languages, Africans have accomplished much for themselves, for they have crashed the barrier of tongues which somehow we either could not or would not break down ourselves by learning the many languages of their continent; and, crashing it, they stand newly arrived and interestingly among us, telling of their life and hopes and giving ear attentively to the message that we bring.

Through communication, then, cooperation becomes practicable. It is rendered the more so because of the readier presentation of African hopes and aspirations. Not all of these African aims will be realizable—some are not even worthy. Africa is as recognizably human in this respect as is America. The common unworthiness of some American and African aspirations might provide a theme upon which to argue the brotherhood of man, the unity of races and the underlying likeness of the continents. Interesting parallels could be drawn. But the point here is not so much that certain African aspirations may be unworthy, as that we are beginning to know those aspirations as never before. And with that

knowledge comes the possibility of a developing cooperation.

Cooperation here, as always, calls for a large measure of self-control and self-effacement on both sides. In this instance, effacement will remove more foreign headliners than African. There are so few of the latter and relatively so many of the former. But the gains in mutual understanding and solid accomplishment will be great.

The ability of the African Christian to cooperate with his white brethren could not be illustrated better than by the story of Samuel Lutete, a second-generation Congo Christian. He is in charge of the Union Missionnaire Hospitalière in Leopoldville, to which reference has already been made. Known in English as the Union Mission House and familiarly as the U.M.H., it is a missionary hostel built by six missions at a cost of about forty thousand dollars. Hundreds of missionaries stop there, going in and out of the chief foreign gateway of the Congo, and upon occasion fifty or even more are there for extended conference.

Lutete meets hundreds of passengers arriving by train, river boat, air or motor; guides them through customs, ticket, medical and other formalities; helps them do their necessary buying; lodges them, feeds them, attends to their laundry, mends their clothing and if required tailors beautifully a new tropical suit before bedtime. He landscapes the grounds, coats the roofs with red lead, makes new curtains, drives the car, keeps

hundreds of pieces of baggage safe and separate, gets maximum cooperation from his staff of African assistants, keeps accounts, enamels the beds, solders a leaking pipe and keeps the cesspools clear. He is equally at home in French and English, and can manage also in Flemish and Portuguese—to say nothing of three or four African languages. He acts as host to a visiting high official of the British Foreign Office in such a way as unconsciously to earn surprised and warmest gratitude, and the next day prepares tempting morsels for the fevered, tossing baby of a young missionary couple. He puts water on the table for Americans, tea for Britishers, coffee for Swedes, and knows other discerning things about the dozen nationalities he has as guests.

This now reserved, efficient, trimly dressed young man appeared one day some twenty-five years ago, a loin-clouted youngster, upon the steps of a Baptist station in the Congo. He so pleaded for work that the missionary's wife told him she would make a place if he would come back washed, combed and garbed. Presently he was back, washed and combed, and as for garb —in his father's shirt, tails trailing on the ground. His development since then, and that of his wife and growing family, has been steadily hopeful. Their service now at the U.M.H., in a place formerly taken by foreign missionary families, is rendered in a wholly Christian and missionary spirit.

In Lutete, able young Africa has been laden with serious responsibility in the new life arising about him,

and he walks erectly off with the load. Whole caravans of burden-capable Africans are arising. Upon them should be placed maximum loads—those enormous loads which somehow are borne by weak mortals when supported by Christ's yoke.

COOPERATION AT THE HOME BASE

Home base cooperation in African missionary undertakings is effective and praiseworthy so far as it has developed. These lines are chiefly educational and governmental. Three committees function in America interdenominationally on matters affecting three sections of Africa—Liberia, the Congo, and the Portuguese colonies. These committees deal chiefly with common interests in education and with governmental matters touching missions and the African church. An American section of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa is also active, and in addition, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America has a standing committee on Africa.

The Liberia committee is composed of representatives not only of mission boards but of American colonization societies, of philanthropic funds and other American bodies interested in Liberia. Fortunately, having certain modest funds at its disposal, it has inaugurated at Kakata a promising school, the Booker Washington Institute, which forms, with the long-established College of West Africa of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a most hopeful educational effort.

American home base cooperation in African work is somewhat in advance of that in Britain and in continental Europe, and for this reason, if for no other, the responsibility for further advance in cooperation would rather seem to be laid upon the American agencies. On the whole, it may be said that the results of past joint action have been sufficiently fruitful and satisfactory to disarm most fears for its future.

There are three special problems in such cooperation that need consideration now on the part of Christian people whose missionary agencies are at work in Africa:

1. Has the time not come for all groups that are interested in Africa or any of its parts to join in presenting Africa as a whole to the North American public? For example, how can a full picture of Sierra Leone's needs and great possibilities be presented to any church body if the relation of the founding of its missions there to the rest of Africa is not shown? What does the hundred years' history of penetration into that colony mean to Nigeria, the Congo, the Gold Coast and other parts of Africa? What is the possible social relationship of its "human leopard" secret societies to similar terrible organizations elsewhere? What has been the result of its experience with, first, the Syrian and later, Japanese economic penetration, in relation to other parts of Africa? What is the larger bearing on the whole continent of its two somewhat contrasting types of education, as represented by the older Fourah Bay College of the Church Missionary Society and Albert Academy

of the United Brethren? Or who can understand Cameroun without a background of knowledge of the whole central part of Africa? Or Belgian Africa without a background of British and French African possessions and policies?

Again, the close and vital interrelation of Africa with North America ought to be made plain publicly in America, with continued fresh presentation of progressively developing ties. To the American public ought to be disclosed America's manufacturing dependence on Africa for certain essential raw materials of industry. The importance to Africa of certain American educational experience, particularly in the southern United States, should be seen clearly by Americans. The unusual service to Africa possible through American Negro Christians should be understood, as well as the resultant beneficial effect upon American Negro religious life to be expected from such service. There is a rather unsuspected "trade balance" to be seen in all this social, ethical and economic interchange between Africa and America, and the possibilities and needs concerning it should be steadily held before the American public.

Moreover, Africa's vital relationship to world peace and world war should be kept in its appropriate place, which is well forward in the world's thinking.

All such efforts would tend to influence current American conceptions and misconceptions of Africa. They would constitute an endeavor to paint the total Africa: that Africa which contains so many elements

required for world attunement; which yet requires a great deal indeed from the outside world; and which promises to repay abundantly in treasure of soil and soul all aids we now extend.

2. Joint administration of selected phases of mission service in contiguous areas might profitably be tried. A beginning could be made with educational, medical and fiscal departments of the work, or with any one of them.

By this is meant more than the union school or hospital so well developed on other fields. Those are important elements in a joint administration for Africa and should be early developed. But by joint administration we mean a plan for pooling resources of all sorts, including union institutions, for a given type of work in selected related areas, whereby the maximum flexibility and effectiveness might be obtained. Central Africa has seen the power that may be derived from such a plan in the case of the very effective Roman Catholic expansion of the past decade. Without in any degree contravening Protestant ideals of appropriateness, a lesson could be taken from that example.

3. Closely related to the above, but involving the establishment of a new work rather than the united supervision of existing effort, is the opportunity which offers in the congested mineral areas of the Katanga and Northern Rhodesia. In 1932, the fruits of a study made by Mr. J. Merle Davis on behalf of the International Missionary Council were published under the title of *Modern Industry and the African.* This standard work

in its field should be studied by all those desiring to make a careful investigation of the subject. It notes the effect of labor in the copper mines of Central Africa upon Native society and the work of Christian missions. Dealing chiefly with Northern Rhodesia, it makes recommendations of wide import designed to increase the church's effectiveness in meeting the problems of the mining area, and it also records observations made on the Rand in South Africa and in the Katanga province of the Belgian Congo. Into these areas come thousands of Africans from scores of tribes throughout half the continent to work the mines. Cut off from home and family, and from the sanctions of the tribe, they face alone—although closely crowded in mine compounds—the vilest temptations of the old life and of the new. If they succumb, as thousands do, they are lost from the ranks of those who strive for a better Africa, and returning home, if they do, they carry diseases, both in the moral and the physical life, to their fellows of the tribe.

It is a grim situation. It attacks the very roots of the new Africa. It spreads its poison everywhere. Only two things can change it: close the mines, or improve the conditions. It takes no seer to discern that the mines will not close.

But the church right here in America can help to improve the conditions if it will. In the Katanga, for example, the Methodist Episcopal Church has the area adjacent to the largest mines. It has a devoted but an

utterly inadequate staff—at present three people for its two largest cities and mines, at Elisabethville and Jadotville. It sees no present prospect of enlarging the staff, but has indicated warm willingness to ally itself in that area with a plan of interdenominational cooperation jointly projected and administered. With the large resources of several church bodies, it would be possible to undertake a powerful program of assistance of these able young miners who come from the areas of a score of missions and who hold within themselves such future strength for Africa.

Dr. John R. Mott, discussing the problems of the mineral districts on his return from Africa, said he knew of no situation in the whole continent where missionary cooperation of this sort was more immediately possible or urgently needed than in the Katanga.

In Katanga, a great challenge and a clear way. In America, what?

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

As the church in Africa develops, what are some of the tendencies that need to be observed closely by all who have its welfare at heart?

First, it must be clearly recognized that there are dangers inherent in the trend toward autonomy. One of the most apparent of these dangers lies in the separatist tendencies observable in certain sections. It is not reassuring for the English-speaking branches of the Christian church to note that separatism is more pro-

nounced in some areas long under British control than in other places. The Gold Coast and Nigeria both have a number of dissentient churches. The Union of South Africa has some three hundred Native separatist churches registered with the government. Examine these names picked here and there from the list:

African Native Catholic Church
African Christian Apostolic Church in Zion
African Seventh Day Zulu Chaka Church of Christ
African Christian Catholic Baptist
African Ethiopian Church
African Independent Ethiopian Church
Afrikaanse Natieve Evangelie Kerk
Basuto Redemption Episcopal Church
Methodist African Church
International Missionary Alliance
Independent Native Presbyterian Church
African Free Congregational Church
African Catholic Church of South Africa
African Reform Church
African United Brethren Church of St. Moravian
African Pentecostal Mission Church
Brethren Mission Church
Lutheran Bapedi Church
Native Modern Religious Society of East Africa
Church of the Race
Zion City Apostolic Paulus Church in South Africa
United Church of the Brethren in Zion
Volks Kerk van Zuid Afrika
Episcopal Egreja Luzo Africana Church

Ethiopian Orthodox Catholic Church
American Christian Church
Church of the Nazarenes
Bible Standard Church of America
Apostolic Church in Zion of the New Jerusalem Mission in Basutoland
Modern Mission
King of Salom Melchizedek Church

There should be no amused smile as Christians read that list. What a tragedy! What a reflection of foreign divisions! Run through the list again and note familiar words—Catholic, Christian, Seventh Day, Missionary Alliance, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Reform, United Brethren, Pentecostal, Brethren, Lutheran, Orthodox, Church of the Brethren, Zion, Nazarenes, Apostolic Church. It is as though one read the yearbook of American churches. Three hundred separatist Native sects in South Africa! We have all too well implanted *our* churches.

In justice it should be said, however, that foreign denominationalism is not solely responsible for this state of affairs. In some degree this denominational disruption is an escape mechanism for South African Natives, a protest against white economic, racial repressions. Debarred generally from normal growth into political and economic responsibility, the Native South African finds an outlet in religion for personal and organizational self-expression. He sets up his own churches—three hundred of them. In establishing them

he feels he makes advance on at least five emotional fronts. He creates something. He controls it. It helps to satisfy his soul's aspiration for a better life and a religion more adequate than his father's. He registers protest against white domination. And he gets revenge by excluding whites from something of his, as he has been systematically excluded from many of their things.

But even though that be so, the church outside Africa cannot escape responsibility for having set the pattern of divisions, and for having carried into Africa looms set to duplicate that pattern. Otherwise it would seem hardly possible for the young South African church to have developed so painful a likeness in so short a time —even to the choice of names.

It is possible that a contributory factor in some instances is the slowness with which missionaries are willing to share leadership and responsibility in church matters with African brethren and sisters. If mistakes in this devolution process have been made, it would seem to be rather on the score of delay than on that of precipitancy. One has the impression that there is, only too frequently, missionary underestimation of African present ability to lead and capacity to grow in the conduct of religious matters. Sometimes commercial firms, or even governments, are quicker to trust important functions to Africans than is the church. And we may be sure that governments are not going to continue indefinitely to be lenient on sectarian separatism.

To combat separatism, but more especially to pro-

mote Christianity, the African church should be progressively freed from excessive foreign control. Advance should be quickened in this. The Vatican has seen clearly the need some years past for more African leaders, and with its centralized authority has decreed their training and ordination. In some areas, the Catholic church has outstripped the Protestant in numbers of African clergy and other leaders. By putting all possible emphasis on African responsibility within the framework of the organized church, we would reduce the separatist tendency, widen the Christian effort, give indispensable leadership experience to increasing numbers, and insure against later shock when growing nationalism (or whatever replaces it in Africa) will demand sudden transference of church power as it has in some other countries.

But the prospects of African Christianity are not all beclouded by dangers. Far from it. Consider, for example, what has taken place in Uganda. Here, the church has developed in a striking degree. Numerically, it is large. Many Africans are in posts of large ecclesiastical responsibility. The church is in a position of great influence in the total life of the Baganda. In British West Africa, the church has developed and placed tasks upon leaders of fine ability. The Church of England has consecrated African bishops, and the free churches have elders and ministers and superintendents. The emergence of Christ-transformed Africans is to be noted almost everywhere on the continent.

No man can predict what the spirit of God moving upon the life of a continent may bring to pass. One may only point out certain possibilities that, on the basis of past history and present trends, seem to be in process of realization. If the churches of North America, Britain, Europe and South Africa that have brought to Negro Africa the gospel of Christ continue and enrich their cooperation with each other, and with their African Christian brethren, two results of inestimable spiritual significance may take place. Present conditions in Africa would seem, at least, to be favorable to the working out of these ends. First, within a period measured by years and within the life expectancy of some who read these words, Christianity may replace animism as the spiritual basis of Negro African life; second, the gospel may possibly be so interpreted and received as to make it, for the first time in the modern world, what Jesus indubitably meant it to be—a complete way of life for a whole people.

Let us examine these two possibilities a little more closely.

1. Within a measurable space of years Christianity can become the religion of Africa.

Here in Africa is animism, a compound of fears and fetishes, repressive, oppressive, holding a great people in its thrall, keeping them eternally low in any scale of culture and civilization, almost entirely unrelieved by hope or joy. It is a mass of dead weight, really dead, accumulated through untold past and dead generations

of black superstitions, and lying suffocatingly upon the spirit of its people.

Those beneath its spell regard it as a religion, true. But it does to its followers nearly all those things which a religion should not do, and fails to do most of the things which a religion should do.

While we believe that Christianity will supersede all other world religions, probably we must admit that the process will require long periods of time. That is no cause for discouragement, no reason for relaxing or not increasing our endeavors.

But in Negro Africa we have none of that highly tempered, toughly resistant armor of closely cast intellectual philosophy with which so many of the Oriental religions, for example, protect themselves from outside influences that would in any way weaken their hold upon their followers.

There *is* a philosophy of animism, of course. But the culture in which it has grown does not stimulate an ordered view of life that maintains itself against other systems of belief. And the fact that there were no written languages in which its interpretation of life could be expressed has limited its development and favors its overthrow. In addition, it is essentially a negative religion, largely compounded of fear.

There is little difficulty, comparatively speaking, in Christianity's overcoming animism. Christian progress in Africa already shows this. A religion of deadly fear confronted by a religion of love, centered in a God who

cares for the last and the least, has small chance of survival. Nor will it survive unless Christianity in the hands of its human agents is made in the future to blunder as it has sometimes done, alas, in the past—to blunder not only in its spiritual applications but by its silence about human greed, its acquiescence in human exploitation, its support of privilege, its deafness to crying human need, its insistence on human creeds and its persistence in divided action. These human failures in Christianity are grave dangers and real problems, needful of much prayer and penitence. If Christianity is stopped in Africa, it will be because of them, and because of lack of zeal in the churches which support missionary endeavor.

2. The gospel of Christ may be so presented to Africa as to enable it to become, for the first time, a complete way of life for a whole people.

Africa is ready for such a Christianity. Negro Africa has been subjected to a lowly animism which conditions its life more intimately and completely than Christianity does our own.

From before birth and continuing until long after death, the religion of the spirits is the one lasting influence. No department of life is too intimate, too ramified, too trivial for it to enter and dominate. In prenatal ceremonies, at birth, in adolescence, at puberty, in marriage and ever thereafter, it minutely and rigidly controls. In hunting, fishing, clearing, planting, dancing, building, trekking, warring, the blessing of the

animistic gods is sought, their curses are feared, their supposed guidance is followed.

To the animistic Africans, their religion is all-pervading, and almost no variables are permitted. In everything, religion, even this low-scale religion of animism, controls.

Does Christianity so control America as a nation, or even us as Christians? Africa would naturally take Christianity and make just such a detailed application of it to daily life and conduct were it not—let us contemplate it humbly and with regret—were it not for the practices and views of life prevailing in the countries from which missionaries are sent. That is really not what Christianity is to America and Britain and Denmark and Switzerland and Belgium. That is not the way we practise our Christianity. And consequently our missionaries, practising and representing our Christianity, have only in the rarest instances the background or training for presenting such a whole-life Christianity to the African.

In reality, not only do we generally not so present it, but now and then we throw our weight against the efforts of the Native church to give Christianity such an intimate and detailed application to the so-called secular phases of life. We grow fearful at times lest harmful African customs be injected into African Christianity. We want to keep Christianity pure and to define—from the standpoint of Western theology—what "pure" Christianity is. Even if it be true that unworthy

features of present African practices may dilute Christianity, has not Christianity been somewhat diluted in the West?

OUT OF AFRICA—?

Out of Africa—who knows?

Africa is emerging. It is rich. It can accommodate and feed more people than it is now doing. It is alluring. It is not organized for resistance. It is therefore, in a predatory world, coveted and conquered.

But it has strength. Through hundreds of thousands of slaves it involuntarily yet surely influenced the more advanced societies which enslaved it.

Politically, it has modified nation's relation to nation; has unwittingly shared in causing a terrible world war; and continues as a prime reason for world unrest today.

Economically, it is in some ways as closely related to America as Pennsylvania is to Michigan, as Akron is to Detroit. The degree of our dependence upon many of Africa's resources is doubtless to increase. And the development of those resources is contingent in great measure upon the prior development of Africans.

The world's black-white racial relations will be strongly influenced by the outcome of the association of the two races in Africa. To a less degree, all color relations of the world will be affected by results in that continent.

African problems are difficult. Africa may be hard.

But Africa is also workable. Its diamonds are cut, its copper molded, its cobalt alloyed, its gold minted, its ivory carved. All its material elements are adaptable and usable.

Likewise its people. The African is physically persistent—but he is plastic. He sees his world changing, and is ready himself to change. He is the more ready since his old life has not been really satisfying and happy. Because a people can smile and sing and dance, some observers judge them care-free and happy. That does not necessarily follow. No people who bury two-thirds of their babies are really happy. No people who are fear-full and love-starved are really happy. Hear Aggrey again:

"We often sing Heber's lines:

> The heathen in his blindness
> Bows down to wood and stone.

In his blindness? No—in his hunger."

The African hungers for change, for enrichment of life. The religion which has completely controlled his past life proves inadequate for the new. It is being rather generally expelled. The exhaustion of the old religion leaves a vacuum in the soul into which *something* will be drawn.

What will that something be?

The answer to that question is the hinge upon which Africa is to swing—toward international adjustment and cooperation if the principles of Christ are to respond

to Africa's need; toward more bitter racial struggles, armed international conflict and growing world chaos if a no-God materialism gains the entry.

In this connection, striking indeed were the words addressed to the Foreign Missions Conference of North America by the Honorable Francis B. Sayre, Assistant Secretary of State.

> We must go back to the living Christ—to the audacious, thrilling, winsome figure that actually lived. Unless men learn to love him, they will not follow him. Neither will they come to understand how to master life.
>
> That is the mission of Christianity to the present world, as I see it. As one catches the vision of all that hangs upon the outcome, the call of Christ becomes the most exciting challenge in the world today.
>
> If the things I have been saying are true, our very civilization depends upon the spread and acceptance of Christian principles throughout the world. To the extent that you are charged with directing and shaping American foreign mission work, yours is a sublime opportunity, yours an awful responsibility. Have you the vision to comprehend the stakes? Have you the courage to keep the faith?

Out of Africa—War or peace? Conflict or cooperation? Chaos or collaboration? Minerals sprinkled with blood or treasure borne with joy? Hatred or love?

Africa has qualities which incline her toward the second alternative in each bracket.

What of Europe and America? One cannot be so certain. But this fact, at least, is sure: that in the hands

of their Christian people lies all the power required to determine the attitudes to be adopted toward Africa.

And in their hands lies also the great and revolutionizing power to bring Christ to Africa, and Africa to Christ.

Into Africa went the Christ twenty centuries ago, when his own folk sought to slay him.

Out of Africa came the Christ, sheltered and safe, to live his mission and die his death, that the world might be saved.

Into Africa may he go again, proclaimed by eager and impelling disciples.

Out of Africa—may Christ come, with a continent following after.

Appendix

EXCERPTS FROM THE FINDINGS OF THE TWO SERIES OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCES HELD IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO, APRIL-JUNE, 1934, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF DR. JOHN R. MOTT

I. From the final conference in the South Africa series, held at Bloemfontein, May 15-16, 1934, as reported in The South African Outlook *for June 15, 1934. Used by permission.*

AFRICAN CHRISTIANITY—ITS ROOTS AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Christianity in its approach to the African will be most effective

a. When the message of life in Christ Jesus has become thoroughly naturalized, that is, has been so related to the African's own spiritual experience that he recognizes it as a fulfilment of the best that he knows and feels, an impregnating of the beliefs and longings of his traditional religion with the creative power of Christ.

b. When the ministry of foreign missionaries and such financial aid as may be given are not used to maintain any authority beyond the power of influence.

c. When fellowship with the older churches is on a basis of freedom and equality.

d. When the church's spiritual resources are being made effective for the transformation of the whole life of its community.

2. It is obvious that the situation in South Africa differs very considerably from that in Oriental countries where the Christians are almost exclusively nationals. In South Africa not only are there such churches established by foreign missions, but there are strong European churches which, having themselves been established by aid from their communions overseas, are themselves becoming or have become indigenous in South Africa.

The ideal of all churches and missionary societies is one, namely, that the flocks, which under the leadership of the Great Shepherd they have gathered out of African paganism, shall reach the most complete fulfilment and expression of Christian experience and shall bring into that experience for their own sake and for the sake of the whole church the most complete expression of their own racial genius.

In the effort to attain that ideal several distinct types of church life have emerged:

a. The mission church as represented by the European and American missionary societies which have founded churches which they are guiding toward the goal of self-support, self-control, and self-propagation, with the expectation that when that goal has been reached the missionaries will be withdrawn and an African church with its own ministry and its own church courts will remain.

b. The Bantu church. The Presbyterian church together with the United Free Church of Scotland, the Baptist, and certain provincial synods of the Dutch Reformed Church have found it desirable in the face of linguistic difficulties, the wide differentiation of interests as between the Native and European Christian communities, and the problem of relating successfully the Christian life of the Native Christians with that of the European Christians, to set up Bantu churches in which African and Euro-

pean ministers have equal status in the courts of the church and which control all their own affairs.

c. Other churches, such as the Anglicans, Methodists, and Congregationalists, have integrated the African Christians into the common life of the church as a whole. In these cases some provision is usually made by sectional synods of the ordinary synods or by an advisory body on Native missions to provide for such separate consideration of Native matters as is considered necessary.

d. In addition to the importation of different church polities from the older countries, various causes have led to the birth of a large number of so-called "separatist" churches. Amongst such causes may be mentioned:

(1) Failure on the part of missions or churches to recognize promptly the signs of developing self-consciousness in the Native church or to deal tactfully with grievances.

(2) Ambition on the part of Native leaders often poorly qualified to assume the responsibilities of leadership.

(3) Resurgence of Native prophetism seeking expression in fantastic dress, ceremonies and doctrines.

(4) The example of European sectarianism.

(5) Political and economic dissatisfaction.

3. Recommendations.

a. All missionaries and persons serving African churches should make themselves familiar with the African's spiritual heritage and his mental background, and should make every effort to relate the Christian message to African spiritual experience.

b. The training of the missionary should include not only the learning of the language of the people among whom he labors but a grounding in anthropology and primitive religion, and his general culture should be such as to enable him to establish helpful contacts with government and mine officials, farmers and others so as to be able to interpret the rapidly expanding life of

the African people. It is also important that the missionary should have such knowledge of economic and social principles as will enable him to help the African in his adjustments to his new environment in an industrialized civilization.

c. European ministers and missionaries engaged in the work of evangelization of the Africans should have so learned Christ that there can be no assumption of superior authority based on race.

d. It is also fundamental that there should be a thoroughly trained African ministry. To the essential foundation of a deep spiritual experience and a high devotion to the evangelization of their people should be added a training that includes study and practice in the spheres of social and economic adjustment as well as the usual theological disciplines. The study of church history also is of great importance if the errors of past ages are to be avoided.

e. Missionaries and churches should have faith in the work of the Holy Spirit in African ministers and African Christians and should anticipate rather than procrastinate in the devolving of responsibility upon them. To this end the door of advancement to the highest posts of service should be kept wide open.

f. Where the Native church is not integrated with the European church we urge that the African ministry in all its branches should as rapidly as possible be regarded as in the service of the African church and not of a mission or of any non-African body of control. Self-support should be hastened as fast as economic conditions permit, but the failure to reach full self-support should not be used to keep the African church in a state of tutelage.

g. Missionaries and churches are urged, while conserving the spiritual values that have come to them out of historic Christianity, to meet with encouragement such stirrings of the spirit of unity as may appear in the hearts of the peoples to whom they have brought the gospel, and to be ready out of the historic experience of the church to guide them toward the goal.

h. A friendly hand should be extended to the so-called "separatist" churches, so far as can be done without the compromise of principles, especially toward the securing of a better trained ministry and the provision of spiritual stimulus. Co-operative missionary councils might well devote special study to this question.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE WHITE AND NON-WHITE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. This conference is profoundly conscious of the direct bearing of the Christian gospel upon all human relationships and of the pressing need for bringing Christian teaching to bear upon them.

2. The conference is thankful to God for the increasing recognition in South Africa of Christian principles in matters of race relations, and pledges itself to work in faith for the wider and fuller application of these principles.

3. The conference believes that as, under the providence of God, the white and non-white peoples form the commonwealth of South Africa, the general welfare demands unity of purpose and the cooperation of the whole population.

4. The conference stands for the free development of all these peoples so that they may make their own contribution to the general well-being, and it is convinced that not only will this development in no way endanger the racial integrity of any group, but also that it is essential for the maintenance of the Christian ideals in our civilization.

5. The conference calls upon the churches in South Africa to lead public opinion to acceptance of these principles and to work for their application in the following ways:

a. Recognition of the economic interdependence of all sections of the South African population, and support of every effort to improve the position of the economically depressed

groups, both non-white and white, so that all may achieve and maintain a civilized and Christian standard of life.

b. Cooperation with the authorities in response to the efforts of the minister of justice for the rehabilitation of offenders; revision of the laws solely affecting Natives which, by multiplying statutory and revenue offenses, swell the number of Native criminal convictions; and inquiry into the causes of the widespread complaints that non-whites do not always receive just treatment at the hands of the police and in the courts.

c. Replacements of the pass laws on the basis of the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Pass Laws and the Native Economic Commission. (Substitution of single life-long identification certificate with tax receipts endorsed thereon for the present multiplicity of passes.)

d. Provision of adequate educational facilities for all non-whites.

6. The churches are exhorted to adopt the following measures to promote racial understanding and cooperation:

a. To use all forms of voluntary help available for common service in evangelism, education and social work.

b. To arrange for addresses by qualified and suitable white and non-white speakers to white and non-white church members, and for articles in the religious and secular press for the enlightenment of public opinion on racial questions.

c. To provide opportunities for spiritual intercourse between white and non-white Christian ministers and other leaders of opinion.

d. To encourage the study of available literature on racial questions and the publication of further material for the use of study groups.

e. To support the work of interracial conferences, joint councils and other interracial organizations.

II. From the findings of the Leopoldville General Consultation, the final meeting in the Belgian Congo series, June 17-25, 1934, as contained in the official report Christ and the Congo. *Leopoldville, Conseil Protestant du Congo; New York, International Missionary Council. Used by permission.*

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Adviser on Education—Area Committees—General Committee

Realizing the need for closer cooperation in the organization of schools, the preparation of curricula and syllabi and the rapid diffusion of new information useful in the development of missionary educational work, we recommend:

1. That an experienced missionary of proved educational ability be appointed under the auspices of the Congo Protestant Council to act as adviser on missionary education for the whole field. Such an adviser should be conversant with the best educational practices, experiments and developments in other parts of the world, should collect and disseminate useful information on textbooks, educational methods, etc., and should further the production of textbooks wherever needed. It is considered essential that the adviser be given every opportunity to visit the various missions, thus making himself conversant with local problems and assisting in their solution.

2. That steps be taken to form inter-mission standing committees on education in each normal school area, to work in harmony with the adviser on education, to report on local problems and needs, and to integrate local educational institutions with the whole missionary and official educational endeavor of the colony, and to make suggestions and recommendations.

3. That the secretaries of these area committees, together with the adviser on education, meet at certain fixed intervals to consult together and devise means to maintain education in the whole field at a high level of efficiency, in line with the best modern educational thought and practice.

Theological Education

Looking to the eventual establishment of a fully trained ordained Native ministry of the Congo church, we view with concern the slow progress which is being made to this end. We advise that as a first step toward more adequate training there be established on a union basis at one or two of our main pastoral training institutions post graduate courses of about three years' duration for the further training of selected candidates, graduates of existing pastoral schools.

Sunday School Work

We consider the Sunday school to be vitally important in linking the church to the school, in furthering the development of Christian personality throughout life, and in furnishing an agency for spreading Christian information to those not attending the day school. It should also play a large part in developing indigenous leadership and in affording an opportunity for voluntary Christian service and stewardship. We therefore recommend:

1. That the Sunday school be given a larger place in the work of the church and that we endeavor to make it increasingly more effective.

2. That teacher training be promoted by short intensive courses and by the formation of model Sunday schools at all training centers.

3. That a Sunday school committee of the Congo Protestant Council be formed to represent the Belgian Congo in the World's Sunday School Association. Pending the appointment of an adviser on education we recommend that an honorary executive secretary be designated to initiate the work and to correspond with the World's Sunday School Association.

COOPERATION

Cooperation and Fellowship within the Native Church

A sense of fellowship and unity is already widespread among

the members of the church of Christ in Congo. With a view to fostering this spirit of brotherhood we recommend:

1. The use, by all Christian churches in connection with the Protestant missions in Congo, of a common name to be selected by the Congo Protestant Council. [The Council recommends the name Eglise du Christ au Congo.] The accepted name should figure on all church membership cards, transfer cards, inquirers' cards and teachers' certificates. The name of the mission may be added as a subtitle in order that the connection with the parent mission may be retained. We recommend that these cards should be uniform throughout all missions.

2. That members of any Congo evangelical church be accepted by any other Congo evangelical church on presentation of a valid card of membership or letter of transfer, this principle being already widely accepted.

3. That regional conferences of the Native churches be held at suitable centers. Such conferences, a natural development of the local gatherings now held at many mission stations, would do much to foster a sense of unity. It would be advantageous to have the findings of all such conferences sent to the Congo Protestant Council for the guidance of others.

4. That the Congo Protestant Council seriously consider changing the constitution so as to permit the inclusion of Native delegates, in order that the Native churches may progressively accept increased responsibilities.

Reading List

THE following list has been selected from a very large literature on the continent of Africa, its peoples and problems. The views of the writers are not necessarily in harmony with those of the author. A few books now out of print but of special value for reference have been included and may be found in many libraries. Several of the volumes cited contain full bibliographies. Readers desiring a longer list in separate form may secure a mimeographed bibliography for ten cents from the Foreign Missions Conference, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Leaders of study groups using *Out of Africa* as a text may secure from denominational literature headquarters or from the publishers of this volume "A Course on Africa for Adults," by T. H. P. Sailer, price twenty-five cents.

GENERAL

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European Imperialism in Africa. Halford L. Hoskins. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1930. $1.00.

History of Abyssinia, A. A. H. M. Jones and Elizabeth Monroe. New York, Oxford University Press, 1935. $2.25.

Land and Life of Africa, The. Margaret Wrong. New York, Friendship Press, 1935. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Opening Up of Africa, The. Harry H. Johnston. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1911. $1.25.

Partition and Colonization of Africa, The. Charles P. Lucas. New York, Oxford University Press, 1922. (Out of print.)

Races of Africa. C. G. Seligman. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1930. $1.25.

Thinking with Africa. Edited by Milton Stauffer. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1927. Boards, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

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African Labourer, The. G. St. J. Orde-Brown. New York, Oxford University Press, 1933. $6.00.

Bantu Are Coming, The: Phases of South Africa's Race Problem. Ray E. Phillips. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1931. $2.00.

Colour Problems of South Africa, The. Edgar H. Brookes. Lovedale Press, 1934. Available in the United States from the International Missionary Council, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. $1.25.

Golden Stool, The. Edwin W. Smith. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1928. $1.50.

Modern Industry and the African. J. Merle Davis. New York, International Missionary Council, 1932. $2.50.

Native Policy in Southern Africa. Ifor L. Evans. New York, Macmillan Co., 1934. $2.00.

Native Problem in Africa, The. Raymond L. Buell. New York, Macmillan Co., 1928. 2 vols. $15.

On the Trail of the Bushongo. Emil Torday. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1925. $7.50.

Religion of the Lower Races, The: As Illustrated by the African Bantu. Edwin W. Smith. New York, Macmillan Co., 1923. (Out of print.)

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Education in Africa. A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission [1920-21] . . . Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones. New York, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922. $1.50.

Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission [1923-24] . . . Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones. New York, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925. $2.25.

Education of Primitive People. Albert D. Helser. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1934. $3.00.

Education of the South African Native, The. Charles T. Loram. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. $2.35.

God's Candlelights. Mabel Shaw. New York, Friendship Press, 1932. $1.00.

Remaking of Man in Africa, The. J. H. Oldham and B. D. Gibson. London, Oxford University Press, 1931. Available in the United States from the International Missionary Council, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. $1.25.

Report . . . on Education, Native Welfare, and Race Relations in East and South Africa. A. P. Stokes. New York, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1934. Free on request.

School in the Bush, The. A. Victor Murray. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. $5.00.

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African Bridge Builders. Edited by William C. Bell. New York, Friendship Press, 1936. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 60 cents.

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Christ in the Great Forest. Felix Faure. Translated from the French by Roy Temple House. New York, Friendship Press, 1936. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 60 cents.

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TABLE OF AREAS AND POPULATIONS

	Area in sq. miles	Population[1]
BRITISH		
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	1,008,100	5,605,848*
Basutoland	11,716	498,781
Bechuanaland	275,000	152,983
British Somaliland	68,000	344,700*
Gambia	4,134	210,000*
Gold Coast	78,802	3,040,446*
Kenya Colony	224,960	3,091,064
Nigeria	338,115	19,158,338
Northern Rhodesia	287,950	1,393,238*
Nyasaland	37,596	1,609,915
Sierra Leone	31,670	1,672,057
Southern Rhodesia	150,344	1,109,112
Swaziland	6,705	112,951
Uganda	94,204	3,584,758*
Union of South Africa[2]	472,347	6,928,580
BELGIAN		
Belgian Congo	918,000	9,402,604
FRENCH		
Algeria	847,500	6,553,451
French Equatorial Africa	912,049	3,192,282
French Somaliland	8,880	68,965*
French West Africa	1,604,159	14,478,508*
Madagascar	241,094	3,571,517
Morocco	200,000	4,500,000
Tunisia	48,300	2,410,692
ITALIAN		
Eritrea	45,754	621,776
Italian Somaliland	194,000	1,010,815
Libya	559,500	717,663
PORTUGUESE		
Angola	476,712	2,599,166
Portuguese East Africa	297,657	3,995,831
Portuguese Guinea	13,944	364,929
SPANISH		
Rio de Oro	109,200	80,000*
Rio Muni	9,470	89,130*
Spanish Morocco	13,125	750,000*
INDEPENDENT		
Egypt	383,000	14,217,864
Ethiopia (Abyssinia)	350,000	5,500,000*
Liberia	43,000	1,000,000*
MANDATES		
BRITISH:		
British Cameroun	34,559	769,833
British Togoland	13,041	293,714
South West Africa	318,099	273,876*
Tanganyika Territory	360,000	5,022,640
BELGIAN:		
Ruanda-Urundi	20,500	3,450,000*
FRENCH:		
French Cameroun	166,489	2,222,408
French Togoland	21,893	750,065

[1]All figures represent census reports except those marked by an asterisk, which are official estimates.

[2]Comprising Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal.

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